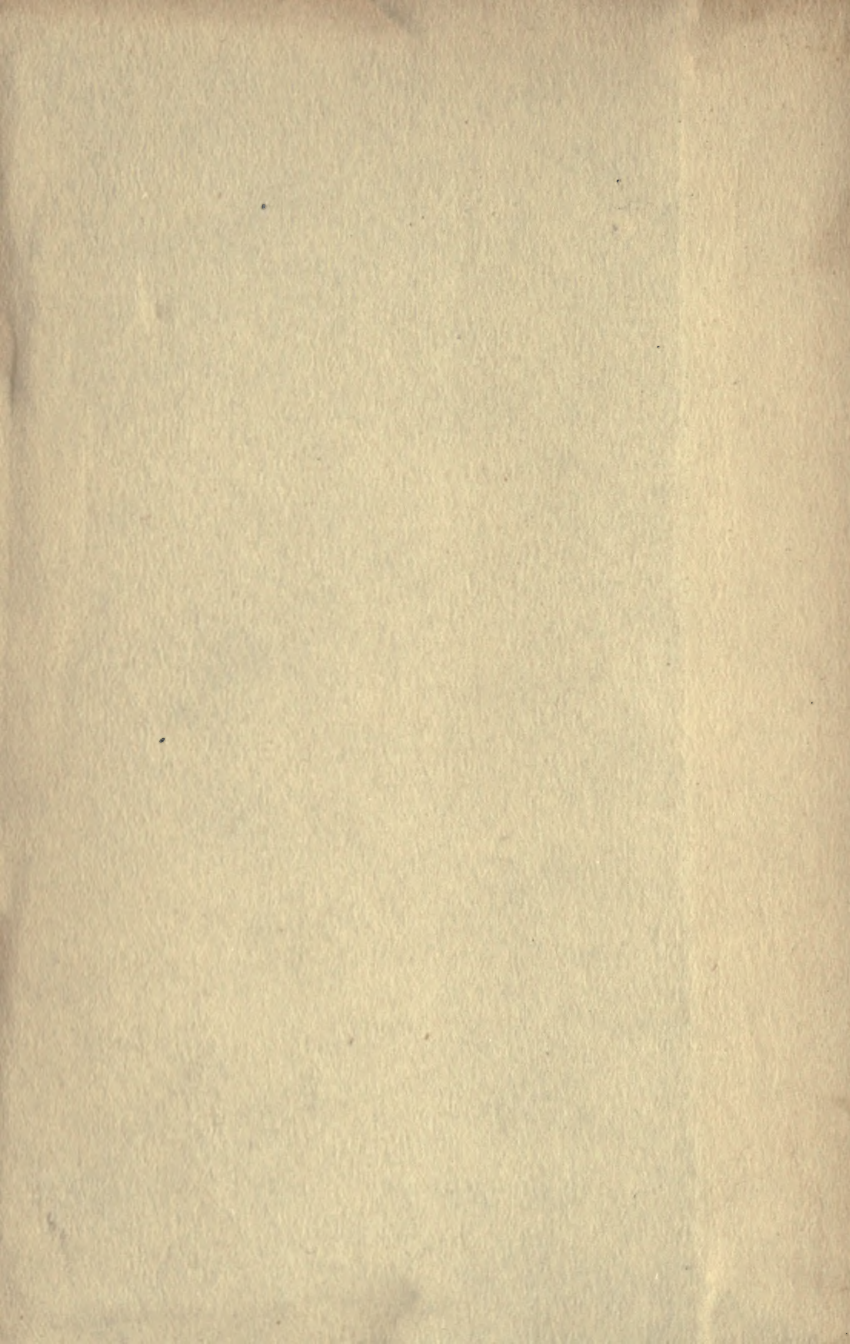



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THE EAST AND THE WEST

Address Delivered at the Banquet given by the
German-Americans of New York in honor of
Grossadmiral von Koester
1909



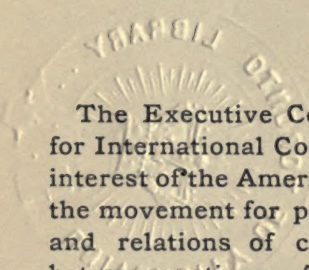
BY

SETH LOW

JANUARY, 1910, No. 26

American Association for International Conciliation
Sub-station 84 (501 West 116th Street)
New York City

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THE EAST AND THE WEST

It is a great pleasure to me to be present this evening at the Banquet given by the German-Americans of New York in honor of Grossadmiral von Koester. I am glad to have this opportunity to bear my testimony, as one of the members of the Hudson-Fulton Celebration Commission, to our very high appreciation of the friendly act of the German Emperor in sending as his personal representative to this Celebration the distinguished gentleman who is your guest of honor tonight. The presence of Admiral von Koester has added distinction to the Celebration in all its aspects, and he will take back with him to Germany, as Prince Henry of Prussia did before him, a large measure of the esteem and admiration of the people of New York. We looked upon his appointment as Special Delegate on behalf of Germany, when it was made, as only another evidence of the friendly feeling between Germany and the United States, which has been unbroken, and substantially unruffled, during all our history. Now that we have had the pleasure of meeting Admiral von Koester personally, that which we interpreted at first as a very "friendly act," in the diplomatic sense of the word, we now interpret as an exceedingly friendly act in its personal significance. For the Admiral has charmed by his personality all who have come into contact with him.

Any one who has followed the progress of this Cele-

bration must have been impressed by the large part which has been taken in it by the German-American population of New York. I cannot deny myself the pleasure of saying, Mr. Chairman, in the presence of this company, what everybody knows, that no one has done more than yourself to make this Celebration what it has been. Many others have co-operated, of course, but I think I may say with literal truthfulness, that your enthusiasm, your courage, and your untiring efforts have inspired us all to do better than otherwise we should have done. But beyond all this, which is in a certain sense personal and accidental, it cannot have escaped notice that, whereas the historical parade of Tuesday revealed the cosmopolitan character of the population of New York City, the carnival parade of Saturday evening, which was of equal magnitude, was composed entirely of our fellow-citizens of German, Austrian and German-Swiss descent. Three of the five concerts given for the entertainment of our guests were given by the Liederkrantz, the Arion, and the United German Singers, those splendid singing societies which have done so much for the cause of music in the City of New York. In the presence of facts like these, it is easy to believe what we are told, that one-third of the population of New York City has German blood in its veins.

This suggests a fact in connection with the United States which is of the first importance. In most of the countries of the world the citizens or subjects are such because they have been born citizens or subjects; but in the United States a very important per-

centage of the total population are citizens of this country as the result of personal choice. It used to be the rule, "Once a subject, always a subject;" but, largely owing to the influence of the United States, the right of the citizen or subject to change his allegiance is now almost universally admitted. It is because of this fact of personal choice, which underlies so much of our citizenship, that we of the United States would fearlessly trust the honor of our flag to any element of our population, even against the country of their origin, were the misfortune of a great war to overtake us. I can illustrate my thought by an instance drawn from the German-American citizenship of this City. Dr. Abraham Jacobi is one of the Germans who came to this country many years ago as a result of the uprisings in the Fatherland of 1848. Later in life he became so eminent in his specialty of the diseases of children that he received an invitation from the University of Berlin to accept that chair in the Berlin University, an invitation involving the greatest possible honor to its recipient. Dr. Jacobi's reply was, that America had given to him his opportunity; and that, while he valued the invitation as he should, he wished to give the service of his professional skill to the country in which, from choice, he had made his home.

On the other hand, it remains true that, precisely as, for me, England is my Mother Country, so, for the Americans of German descent, Germany is the Fatherland, and all of us Americans, just because we ourselves feel this strong attachment to the country of

our origin, respect and sympathize with the same attachment on the part of our fellow-citizens of different descent. Because this is so, we fondly hope that all fear of serious misunderstanding between the United States and other countries from which our people largely come may be for ever dismissed from mind; because this mutuality of population, if I may call it so, helps to interpret the different nations of the world to us, and us to them. For, among nations as among individuals, good understanding is the basis of good feeling. The fact that here, throughout the length and breadth of the land, our citizens of so many different origins live together on terms of amity and good will, is itself an illustration of what may yet be hoped for among the countries of their diverse origin, as good understanding takes the place of misunderstanding, and good neighborhood takes the place of purely formal relationship.

As a result of the facilities for travel which are characteristic of our day, the nations of the modern world are being brought into contact with each other as never before. President Wheeler, of the University of California, in a recent speech made at the dinner of the American Asiatic Association, pointed out that all of the world lying west of the Hydaspes River, the point which marked the furthest reach of the conquests of Alexander the Great, had developed more or less directly under the influence of the civilization of the Mediterranean, while all of the world lying beyond the Hydaspes—India, China and Japan—had developed, until recently, untouched by that civilization; so that

to-day the East and West are looking into each other's eyes after a development that has been different for century after century; with a different social order, with a different code of morals, with a different literature, with a different religious faith: in a word, with everything different that tends to make individuality in a nation. What will come out of the close contact forced upon both East and West by the developments of modern life it is impossible to foresee; but this at least is clear, that, if a good understanding is permanently to prevail, it must begin with a recognition of this fundamental difference in training. Such a recognition must take every serious difference in point of view for granted, and both East and West must try to discover, behind these differences in point of view, what is fine and admirable in each other's civilization. Approached in that spirit, it is reasonable to believe that the close contact necessitated between East and West, in our modern times, may prove to be for the advantage of both. If approached in any other spirit, no one can imagine the disastrous consequences that may follow.

What is thus true of the whole West and the whole East is partially true as regards the nations of the West in their relations with each other. The old isolation is gone for ever for every people; and there is no greater obligation upon any nation to-day than to try to understand, and to enter into sympathy with, that which is finest and best in every other nation. I know that out of such new contacts of the nations new differences of interest will appear; and I know that

every nation is ready to contend to the utmost for that which appears to it to be a matter of vital interest. The thought that I wish to present is, that in these days of free intercourse between the people of all nations, the prosperity of every nation is likely to be for the advantage of every other nation. I cannot imagine any greater misfortune that can befall mankind than to have any two of the great nations of the world feel that their interests necessitate a trial of strength with each other. No great nations can fight to-day without involving all the other nations of the world in the consequences of their struggle more directly than ever before. We of the United States, I am confident, may be relied upon to do everything in our power to develop a world public opinion that will powerfully help to maintain the peace of the world. I feel very sure, for example, that the invitation from the German-Americans of New York City to Admiral Seymour and Admiral Hamilton and the officers of the British Fleet to be present this evening at this dinner in honor of Admiral von Koester is no mere compliment, due to the etiquette of the occasion. I believe that it represents the most sincere hope of the German-American population, not only of New York City but of the whole United States, that Germany and England and the United States may always live together on terms of constantly increasing amity and good will.

In 1893 the eminent German physicist, Von Helmholtz, came to America to attend the World's Fair at Chicago. While he was my guest in the City of New

York, Alexander Graham Bell, a Scotchman by birth, an American by adoption, came all the way from Halifax in order to say to Von Helmholtz, as he did in my presence, that the invention of the telephone was made possible by the investigations into the laws of sound which had been made by Von Helmholtz in his German laboratory. The telephone, therefore, invented under the Stars and Stripes, by a man born under the English flag, and made possible by the researches of a German, illustrates happily how these three nations, by working together, can serve mankind. This one invention ought to be the type of all our relationships. Germany and England and the United States each contribute to the civilization of the twentieth century something that is precious that the others cannot give. Springing very largely, though not completely, from the same stock, differences of environment have led to differences of result; and the world will profit most from the prosperity of all.

The things and the forces that are seen are temporal. It is the things and the forces that are not seen that are eternal. The trolley wire attached to loaded cars would soon be snapped if the attempt were made to haul the cars by direct traction; but that same trolley wire can be charged with an invisible force that will move all the cars of a great city, loaded to their utmost capacity. That, it seems to me, is a just illustration of the force of public opinion. It is intangible; it cannot be weighed; it cannot be seen; and yet, more and more, in every country of the world, whatever be its form of government, this intangible public opinion

is becoming the decisive force that shapes the destiny of the peoples. Slowly, if you please, but surely, there is developing a public opinion of the world to the bar of which every nation must come which breaks the peace of the world. My prayer is that the United States, and England, my Mother Country, and Germany, which is your Fatherland, each in its own measure, may help powerfully to develop the public opinion that one day will bring about for all nations that "Pax Humana," which will mean the peace and prosperity of the whole world. 'This gathering of the Nations at the Hudson-Fulton Celebration ought to be a step, however short, towards this happy consummation.

SETH LOW

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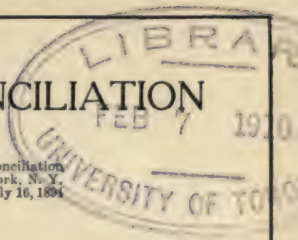
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THE MORAL EQUIVALENT OF WAR



BY

WILLIAM JAMES

FEBRUARY, 1910, No. 27

American Association for International Conciliation
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The Executive Committee of the Association for International Conciliation wish to arouse the interest of the American people in the progress of the movement for promoting international peace and relations of comity and good fellowship between nations. To this end they print and circulate documents giving information as to the progress of these movements, in order that individual citizens, the newspaper press, and organizations of various kinds may have readily available accurate information on these subjects.

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THE MORAL EQUIVALENT OF WAR

By WILLIAM JAMES

The war against war is going to be no holiday excursion or camping party. The military feelings are too deeply grounded to abdicate their place among our ideals until better substitutes are offered than the glory and shame that come to nations as well as to individuals from the ups and downs of politics and the vicissitudes of trade. There is something highly paradoxical in the modern man's relation to war. Ask all our millions, north and south, whether they would vote now (were such a thing possible) to have our war for the Union expunged from history, and the record of a peaceful transition to the present time substituted for that of its marches and battles, and probably hardly a handful of eccentrics would say yes. Those ancestors, those efforts, those memories and legends, are the most ideal part of what we now own together, a sacred spiritual possession worth more than all the blood poured out. Yet ask those same people whether they would be willing in cold blood to start another civil war now to gain another similar possession, and not one man or woman would vote for the proposition. In modern eyes, precious though wars may be, they must not be waged solely for the sake of the ideal harvest. Only when forced upon one, only when an enemy's injustice leaves us no alternative, is a war now thought permissible.

It was not thus in ancient times. The earlier men were hunting men, and to hunt a neighboring tribe,

kill the males, loot the village and possess the females, was the most profitable, as well as the most exciting, way of living. Thus were the more martial tribes selected, and in chiefs and peoples a pure pugnacity and love of glory came to mingle with the more fundamental appetite for plunder.

Modern war is so expensive that we feel trade to be a better avenue to plunder; but modern man inherits all the innate pugnacity and all the love of glory of his ancestors. Showing war's irrationality and horror is of no effect upon him. The horrors make the fascination. War is the *strong* life; it is life *in extremis*; war-taxes are the only ones men never hesitate to pay, as the budgets of all nations show us.

History is a bath of blood. The Iliad is one long recital of how Diomedes and Ajax, Sarpedon and Hector *killed*. No detail of the wounds they made is spared us, and the Greek mind fed upon the story. Greek history is a panorama of jingoism and imperialism—war for war's sake, all the citizens being warriors. It is horrible reading, because of the irrationality of it all—save for the purpose of making "history"—and the history is that of the utter ruin of a civilization in intellectual respects perhaps the highest the earth has ever seen.

Those wars were purely piratical. Pride, gold, women, slaves, excitement, were their only motives. In the Peloponnesian war, for example, the Athenians ask the inhabitants of Melos (the island where the "Venus of Milo" was found, hitherto neutral, to own their lordship. The envoys meet, and hold a debate which Thucydides gives in full, and which, for sweet reasonableness of form, would have satisfied

Matthew Arnold. "The powerful exact what they can," said the Athenians, "and the weak grant what they must." When the Meleans say that sooner than be slaves they will appeal to the gods, the Athenians reply: "Of the gods we believe and of men we know that, by a law of their nature, wherever they can rule they will. This law was not made by us, and we are not the first to have acted upon it; we did but inherit it, and we know that you and all mankind, if you were as strong as we are, would do as we do. So much for the gods; we have told you why we expect to stand as high in their good opinion as you." Well, the Meleans still refused, and their town was taken. "The Athenians," Thucydides quietly says, "thereupon put to death all who were of military age and made slaves of the women and children. They then colonized the island, sending thither five hundred settlers of their own."

Alexander's career was piracy pure and simple, nothing but an orgy of power and plunder, made romantic by the character of the hero. There was no rational principle in it, and the moment he died his generals and governors attacked one another. The cruelty of those times is incredible. When Rome finally conquered Greece, Paulus Aemilius, was told by the Roman Senate to reward his soldiers for their toil by "giving" them the old kingdom of Epirus. They sacked seventy cities and carried off a hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants as slaves. How many they killed I know not; but in Etolia they killed all the senators, five hundred and fifty in number. Brutus was "the noblest Roman of them all," but to reanimate his soldiers on the eve of Philippi he similarly prom-

ises to give them the cities of Sparta and Thessalonica to ravage, if they win the fight.

Such was the gory nurse that trained societies to cohesiveness. We inherit the warlike type; and for most of the capacities of heroism that the human race is full of we have to thank this cruel history. Dead men tell no tales, and if there were any tribes of other type than this they have left no survivors. Our ancestors have bred pugnacity into our bone and marrow, and thousands of years of peace won't breed it out of us. The popular imagination fairly fattens on the thought of wars. Let public opinion once reach a certain fighting pitch, and no ruler can withstand it. In the Boer war both governments began with bluff, but couldn't stay there, the military tension was too much for them. In 1898 our people had read the word WAR in letters three inches high for three months in every newspaper. The pliant politician McKinley was swept away by their eagerness, and our squalid war with Spain became a necessity.

At the present day, civilized opinion is a curious mental mixture. The military instincts and ideals are as strong as ever, but are confronted by reflective criticisms which sorely curb their ancient freedom. Innumerable writers are showing up the bestial side of military service. Pure loot and mastery seem no longer morally avowable motives, and pretexts must be found for attributing them solely to the enemy. England and we, our army and navy authorities repeat without ceasing, arm solely for "peace," Germany and Japan it is who are bent on loot and glory. "Peace" in military mouths to-day is a synonym for "war expected." The word has become a pure provocative,

and no government wishing peace sincerely should allow it ever to be printed in a newspaper. Every up-to-date Dictionary should say that "peace" and "war" mean the same thing, now *in posse*, now *in actu*. It may even reasonably be said that the intensely sharp competitive *preparation* for war by the nations *is the real war*, permanent, unceasing; and that the battles are only a sort of public verification of the mastery gained during the "peace"-interval.

It is plain that on this subject civilized man has developed a sort of double personality. If we take European nations, no legitimate interest of any one of them would seem to justify the tremendous destructions which a war to compass it would necessarily entail. It would seem as though common sense and reason ought to find a way to reach agreement in every conflict of honest interests. I myself think it our bounden duty to believe in such international rationality as possible. But, as things stand, I see how desperately hard it is to bring the peace-party and the war-party together, and I believe that the difficulty is due to certain deficiencies in the program of pacifism which set the militarist imagination strongly, and to a certain extent justifiably, against it. In the whole discussion both sides are on imaginative and sentimental ground. It is but one utopia against another, and everything one says must be abstract and hypothetical. Subject to this criticism and caution, I will try to characterize in abstract strokes the opposite imaginative forces, and point out what to my own very fallible mind seems the best utopian hypothesis, the most promising line of conciliation.

In my remarks, pacifist tho' I am, I will refuse to

speak of the bestial side of the war-régime (already done justice to by many writers) and consider only the higher aspects of militaristic sentiment. Patriotism no one thinks discreditable; nor does any one deny that war is the romance of history. But inordinate ambitions are the soul of every patriotism, and the possibility of violent death the soul of all romance. The militarily patriotic and romantic-minded everywhere, and especially the professional military class, refuse to admit for a moment that war may be a transitory phenomenon in social evolution. The notion of a sheep's paradise like that revolts, they say, our higher imagination. Where then would be the steeps of life? If war had ever stopped, we should have to re-invent it, on this view, to redeem life from flat degeneration.

Reflective apologists for war at the present day all take it religiously. It is a sort of sacrament. Its profits are to the vanquished as well as to the victor; and quite apart from any question of profit, it is an absolute good, we are told, for it is human nature at its highest dynamic. Its "horrors" are a cheap price to pay for rescue from the only alternative supposed, of a world of clerks and teachers, of co-education and zoophily, of "consumer's leagues" and "associated charities," of industrialism unlimited, and feminism unabashed. No scorn, no hardness, no valor any more! Fie upon such a cattleyard of a planet!

So far as the central essence of this feeling goes, no healthy minded person, it seems to me, can help to some degree partaking of it. Militarism is the great preserver of our ideals of hardihood, and human life with no use for hardihood would be contemptible.

Without risks or prizes for the darer, history would be insipid indeed; and there is a type of military character which every one feels that the race should never cease to breed, for every one is sensitive to its superiority. The duty is incumbent on mankind, of keeping military characters in stock—of keeping them, if not for use, then as ends in themselves and as pure pieces of perfection,—so that Roosevelt's weaklings and mollicoddles may not end by making everything else disappear from the face of nature.

This natural sort of feeling forms, I think, the innermost soul of army-writings. Without any exception known to me, militarist authors take a highly mystical view of their subject, and regard war as a biological or sociological necessity, uncontrolled by ordinary psychological checks and motives. When the time of development is ripe the war must come, reason or no reason, for the justifications pleaded are invariably fictitious. War is, in short, a permanent human *obligation*. General Homer Lea, in his recent book "the Valor of Ignorance," plants himself squarely on this ground. Readiness for war is for him the essence of nationality, and ability in it the supreme measure of the health of nations.

Nations, General Lea says, are never stationary—they must necessarily expand or shrink, according to their vitality or decrepitude. Japan now is culminating; and by the fatal law in question it is impossible that her statesmen should not long since have entered, with extraordinary foresight, upon a vast policy of conquest—the game in which the first moves were her wars with China and Russia and her treaty with England, and of which the final objective is the capture of

the Philippines, the Hawaiian Islands, Alaska, and the whole of our Coast west of the Sierra Passes. This will give Japan what her ineluctable vocation as a state absolutely forces her to claim, the possession of the entire Pacific Ocean; and to oppose these deep designs we Americans have, according to our author, nothing but our conceit, our ignorance, our commercialism, our corruption, and our feminism. General Lea makes a minute technical comparison of the military strength which we at present could oppose to the strength of Japan, and concludes that the islands, Alaska, Oregon, and Southern California, would fall almost without resistance, that San Francisco must surrender in a fortnight to a Japanese investment, that in three or four months the war would be over, and our republic, unable to regain what it had heedlessly neglected to protect sufficiently, would then "disintegrate," until perhaps some Caesar should arise to weld us again into a nation.

A dismal forecast indeed! Yet not unplausible, if the mentality of Japan's statesmen be of the 'Caesarian type of which history shows so many examples, and which is all that General Lea seems able to imagine. But there is no reason to think that women can no longer be the mothers of Napoleonic or Alexandrian characters; and if these come in Japan and find their opportunity, just such surprises as "the Valor of Ignorance" paints may lurk in ambush for us. Ignorant as we still are of the innermost recesses of Japanese mentality, we may be foolhardy to disregard such possibilities.

Other militarists are more complex and more moral in their considerations. The "*Philosophie des*

Krieges," by S. R. Steinmetz is a good example. War, according to this author, is an ordeal instituted by God, who weighs the nations in its balance. It is the essential form of the State, and the only function in which peoples can employ all their powers at once and convergently. No victory is possible save as the resultant of a totality of virtues, no defeat for which some vice or weakness is not responsible. Fidelity, cohesiveness, tenacity, heroism, conscience, education, inventiveness, economy, wealth, physical health and vigor—there isn't a moral or intellectual point of superiority that doesn't tell, when God holds his assizes and hurls the peoples upon one another. *Die Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht*; and Dr. Steinmetz does not believe that in the long run chance and luck play any part in apportioning the issues.

The virtues that prevail, it must be noted, are virtues anyhow, superiorities that count in peaceful as well as in military competition; but the strain on them, being infinitely intenser in the latter case, makes war infinitely more searching as a trial. No ordeal is comparable to its winnowings. Its dread hammer is the welder of men into cohesive states, and nowhere but in such states can human nature adequately develop its capacity. The only alternative is "degeneration."

Dr. Steinmetz is a conscientious thinker, and his book, short as it is, takes much into account. Its upshot can, it seems to me, be summed up in Simon Patten's word, that mankind was nursed in pain and fear, and that the transition to a "pleasure-economy" may be fatal to a being wielding no powers of defense against its disintegrative influences. If we speak of the *fear of emancipation from the fear-regime*, we put

the whole situation into a single phrase; fear regarding ourselves now taking the place of the ancient fear of the enemy.

Turn the fear over as I will in my mind, it all seems to lead back to two unwillingnesses of the imagination, one aesthetic, and the other moral: unwillingness, first to envisage a future in which army-life, with its many elements of charm, shall be forever impossible, and in which the destinies of peoples shall nevermore be decided quickly, thrillingly, and tragically, by force, but only gradually and insipidly by "evolution"; and, secondly, unwillingness to see the supreme theatre of human strenuousness closed, and the splendid military aptitudes of men doomed to keep always in a state of latency and never show themselves in action. These insistent unwillingnesses, no less than other esthetic and ethical insistentencies have, it seems to me, to be listened to and respected. One cannot meet them effectively by mere counter-insistency on war's expensiveness and horror. The horror makes the thrill; and when the question is of getting the extremest and supremest out of human nature, talk of expense sounds ignominious. The weakness of so much merely negative criticism is evident—pacifism makes no converts from the military party. The military party denies neither the bestiality nor the horror, nor the expense; it only says that these things tell but half the story. It only says that war is *worth* them; that, taking human nature as a whole, its wars are its best protection against its weaker and more cowardly self, and that mankind cannot *afford* to adopt a peace-economy.

Pacifists ought to enter more deeply into the

esthetical and ethical point of view of their opponents. Do that first in any controversy, says J. J. Chapman, *then move the point*, and your opponent will follow. So long as anti-militarists propose no substitute for war's disciplinary function, no *moral equivalent* of war, analogous, as one might say, to the mechanical equivalent of heat, so long they fail to realize the full inwardness of the situation. And as a rule they do fail. The duties, penalties, and sanctions pictured in the utopias they paint are all too weak and tame to touch the military-minded. Tolstoy's pacificism is the only exception to this rule, for it is profoundly pessimistic as regards all this world's values, and makes the fear of the Lord furnish the moral spur provided elsewhere by the fear of the enemy. But our socialistic peace-advocates all believe absolutely in this world's values; and instead of the fear of the Lord and the fear of the enemy, the only fear they reckon with is the fear of poverty if one be lazy. This weakness pervades all the socialistic literature with which I am acquainted. Even in Lowes Dickinson's exquisite dialogue,* high wages and short hours are the only forces invoked for overcoming man's distaste for repulsive kinds of labor. Meanwhile men at large still live as they always have lived, under a pain-and-fear economy—for those of us who live in an ease-economy are but an island in the stormy ocean—and the whole atmosphere of present-day utopian literature tastes mawkish and dishwatery to people who still keep a sense for life's more bitter flavors. It suggests, in truth, ubiquitous inferiority.

Inferiority is always with us, and merciless scorn

* Justice and Liberty, N. Y., 1909.

of it is the keynote of the military temper. "Dogs, would you live forever?" shouted Frederick the Great. "Yes," say our utopians, "let us live forever, and raise our level gradually." The best thing about our "inferiors" to-day is that they are as tough as nails, and physically and morally almost as insensitive. Utopianism would see them soft and squeamish, while militarism would keep their callousness, but transfigure it into a meritorious characteristic, needed by "the service," and redeemed by that from the suspicion of inferiority. All the qualities of a man acquire dignity when he knows that the service of the collectivity that owns him needs them. If proud of the collectivity, his own pride rises in proportion. No collectivity is like an army for nourishing such pride; but it has to be confessed that the only sentiment which the image of pacific cosmopolitan industrialism is capable of arousing in countless worthy breasts is shame at the idea of belonging to *such* a collectivity. It is obvious that the United States of America as they exist to-day impress a mind like General Lea's as so much human blubber. Where is the sharpness and precipitousness, the contempt for life, whether one's own, or another's? Where is the savage "yes" and "no," the unconditional duty? Where is the conscription? Where is the blood-tax? Where is anything that one feels honored by belonging to?

Having said thus much in preparation, I will now confess my own utopia. I devoutly believe in the reign of peace and in the gradual advent of some sort of a socialistic equilibrium. The fatalistic view of the war-function is to me nonsense, for I know that war-making is due to definite motives and subject to pru-

dential checks and reasonable criticisms, just like any other form of enterprise. And when whole nations are the armies, and the science of destruction vies in intellectual refinement with the sciences of production, I see that war becomes absurd and impossible from its own monstrosity. Extravagant ambitions will have to be replaced by reasonable claims, and nations must make common cause against them. I see no reason why all this should not apply to yellow as well as to white countries, and I look forward to a future when acts of war shall be formally outlawed as between civilized peoples.

All these beliefs of mine put me squarely into the anti-militarist party. But I do not believe that peace either ought to be or will be permanent on this globe, unless the states pacifically organized preserve some of the old elements of army-discipline. A permanently successful peace-economy cannot be a simple pleasure-economy. In the more or less socialistic future towards which mankind seems drifting we must still subject ourselves collectively to those severities which answer to our real position upon this only partly hospitable globe. We must make new energies and hardihoods continue the manliness to which the military mind so faithfully clings. Martial virtues must be the enduring cement; intrepidity, contempt of softness, surrender of private interest, obedience to command, must still remain the rock upon which states are built—unless, indeed, we wish for dangerous reactions against commonwealths fit only for contempt, and liable to invite attack whenever a centre of crystallization for military-minded enterprise gets formed anywhere in their neighborhood.

The war-party is assuredly right in affirming and reaffirming that the martial virtues, although originally gained by the race through war, are absolute and permanent human goods. Patriotic pride and ambition in their military form are, after all, only specifications of a more general competitive passion. They are its first form, but that is no reason for supposing them to be its last form. Men now are proud of belonging to a conquering nation, and without a murmur they lay down their persons and their wealth, if by so doing they may fend off subjection. But who can be sure that *other aspects of one's country* may not, with time and education and suggestion enough, come to be regarded with similarly effective feelings of pride and shame? Why should men not some day feel that it is worth a blood-tax to belong to a collectivity superior in *any* ideal respect? Why should they not blush with indignant shame if the community that owns them is vile in any way whatsoever? Individuals, daily more numerous, now feel this civic passion. It is only a question of blowing on the spark till the whole population gets incandescent, and on the ruins of the old morals of military honour, a stable system of morals of civic honour builds itself up. What the whole community comes to believe in grasps the individual as in a vise. The war-function has graspt us so far; but constructive interests may some day seem no less imperative, and impose on the individual a hardly lighter burden.

Let me illustrate my idea more concretely. There is nothing to make one indignant in the mere fact that life is hard, that men should toil and suffer pain. The planetary conditions once for all are such, and we can

stand it. But that so many men, by mere accidents of birth and opportunity, should have a life of *nothing else* but toil and pain and hardness and inferiority imposed upon them, should have *no* vacation, while others natively no more deserving never get any taste of this campaigning life at all,—*this* is capable of arousing indignation in reflective minds. It may end by seeming shameful to all of us that some of us have nothing but campaigning, and others nothing but unmanly ease. If now—and this is my idea—there were, instead of military conscription a conscription of the whole youthful population to form for a certain number of years a part of the army enlisted against *Nature*, the injustice would tend to be evened out, and numerous other goods to the commonwealth would follow. The military ideals of hardihood and discipline would be wrought into the growing fibre of the people; no one would remain blind as the luxurious classes now are blind, to man's real relations to the globe he lives on, and to the permanently sour and hard foundations of his higher life. To coal and iron mines, to freight trains, to fishing fleets in December, to dish-washing, clothes-washing, and window-washing, to road-building and tunnel-making, to foundries and stoke-holes, and to the frames of skyscrapers, would our gilded youths be drafted off, according to their choice, to get the childishness knocked out of them, and to come back into society with healthier sympathies and soberer ideas. They would have paid their blood-tax, done their own part in the immemorial human warfare against nature, they would tread the earth more proudly, the women would value them more high-

ly, they would be better fathers and teachers of the following generation.

Such a conscription, with the state of public opinion that would have required it, and the many moral fruits it would bear, would preserve in the midst of a pacific civilization the manly virtues which the military party is so afraid of seeing disappear in peace. We should get toughness without callousness, authority with as little criminal cruelty as possible, and painful work done cheerily because the duty is temporary, and threatens not, as now, to degrade the whole remainder of one's life. I spoke of the "moral equivalent" of war. So far, war has been the only force that can discipline a whole community, and until an equivalent discipline is organized, I believe that war must have its way. But I have no serious doubt that the ordinary prides and shames of social man, once developed to a certain intensity, are capable of organizing such a moral equivalent as I have sketched, or some other just as effective for preserving manliness of type. It is but a question of time, of skillful propagandism, and of opinion-making men seizing historic opportunities.

The martial type of character can be bred without war. Strenuous honour and disinterestedness abound elsewhere. Priests and medical men are in a fashion educated to it, and we should all feel some degree of it imperative if we were conscious of our work as an obligatory service to the state. We should be *owned*, as soldiers are by the army, and our pride would rise accordingly. We could be poor, then, without humiliation, as army officers now are. The only thing needed henceforward is to inflame the civic temper as past history has inflamed the military

temper. H. G. Wells, as usual, sees the centre of the situation. "In many ways," he says, "military organization is the most peaceful of activities. When the contemporary man steps from the street, of clamorous insincere advertisement, push, adulteration, underselling and intermittent employment, into the barrack-yard, he steps on to a higher social plane, into an atmosphere of service and co-operation and of infinitely more honourable emulations. Here at least men are not flung out of employment to degenerate because there is no immediate work for them to do. They are fed and drilled and trained for better services. Here at least a man is supposed to win promotion by self-forgetfulness and not by self-seeking. And beside the feeble and irregular endowment of research by commercialism, its little short-sighted snatches at profit by innovation and scientific economy, see how remarkable is the steady and rapid development of method and appliances in naval and military affairs! Nothing is more striking than to compare the progress of civil conveniences which has been left almost entirely to the trader, to the progress in military apparatus during the last few decades. The house-appliances of to-day for example, are little better than they were fifty years ago. A house of to-day is still almost as ill-ventilated, badly heated by wasteful fires, clumsily arranged and furnished as the house of 1858. Houses a couple of hundred years old are still satisfactory places of residence, so little have our standards risen. But the rifle or battleship of fifty years ago was beyond all comparison inferior to those we possess; in power, in speed, in conveni-

ence alike. No one has a use now for such superannuated things." *

Wells adds ** that he thinks that the conceptions of order and discipline, the tradition of service and devotion, of physical fitness, unstinted exertion, and universal responsibility, which universal military duty is now teaching European nations, will remain a permanent acquisition, when the last ammunition has been used in the fireworks that celebrate the final peace. I believe as he does. It would be simply preposterous if the only force that could work ideals of honour and standards of efficiency into English or American natures should be the fear of being killed by the Germans or the Japanese. Great indeed is Fear; but it is not, as our military enthusiasts believe and try to make us believe, the only stimulus known for awakening the higher ranges of men's spiritual energy. The amount of alteration in public opinion which my utopia postulates is vastly less than the difference between the mentality of those black warriors who pursued Stanley's party on the Congo with their cannibal war-cry of "Meat! Meat" and that of the "general-staff" of any civilized nation. History has seen the latter interval bridged over: the former one can be bridged over much more easily.

WILLIAM JAMES.

* First and Last Things, 1908, p. 215.

** Ibid., p. 226.

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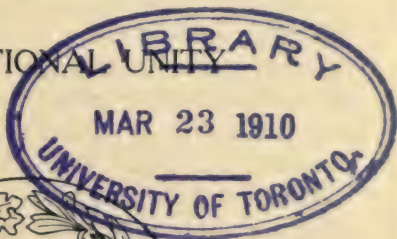
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The Executive Committee of the Association for International Conciliation wish to arouse the interest of the American people in the progress of the movement for promoting international peace and relations of comity and good fellowship between nations. To this end they print and circulate documents giving information as to the progress of these movements, in order that individual citizens, the newspaper press, and organizations of various kinds may have readily available accurate information on these subjects.

For the information of those who are not familiar with the work of the Association for International Conciliation, a list of its publications will be found on page 14.

INTERNATIONAL UNITY

Address delivered before the Pennsylvania Society of New York,

December, 1909

"We now know that freedom is a thing incompatible with corporate life and a blessing probably peculiar to the solitary robber; we know besides that every advance in richness of existence, whether moral or material, is paid for by a loss of liberty; that liberty is man's coin in which he pays his way; that luxury and knowledge and virtue, and love and the family affections are all so many fresh fetters on the naked and solitary freeman."

This was said by a distinguished writer referring to the individual units who have constructed the political systems under which society is organized. It applies with equal truth to the governments they have created. Every material and moral advance in the sodality of nations, for universal, as distinguished from local or domestic purposes, is achieved by concessions restraining to a greater or less degree the liberty of action of individual states for the benefit of the community of nations and in obedience to the demands of an international public opinion.

These concessions to international unity have been

brought about through international conferences, congresses, associations and meetings, covering such a wide range of the material needs and moral aspirations of nations as to make it quite impossible even to specify them and their purpose with any particularity. Broadly speaking, however, they have been designed to establish common policies in large political and economic affairs, to secure cooperation in the promotion of international harmony, to assuage human hardships, to elevate the morals of the world, and to secure the blessings of uniform and enlightened justice.

The tendency of modern times then is manifestly toward international unity, at the same time preserving national organization. International independence and its corollary, international equality, have been recognized from the Congress of Westphalia, in 1648, putting an end to the Thirty Years' War and recognizing the independence and equal right of States irrespective of their origin and religion. Intercommunication has brought nations within easy reach of each other. The development of commerce and industry and the necessary exchange of commodities have caused nations to see that their interests are similar and interdependent, and that a like policy is often necessary as well for the expansion as for the protection of their interests. Independence exists, but the interdependence of States is as clearly recognized as their political independence. Indeed, the tendency is very marked to substitute interdependence for independence, and each nation is likely to see itself forced

to yield something of its initiative, not to any one nation, but to the community of nations in payment for its share in the "advance in richness of existence."

The Telegraph Union was the first important international administrative union to be established dealing with the subject of communication between European states. The invention of wireless telegraphy has given rise to conferences, and in 1906 a formal conference was held in Berlin which resulted in a convention signed by the representatives of twenty-six powers.

A Postal Union comprising fifty-five states and colonies has been established upon the initiative of the United States. The postal rate has been made uniform throughout the extent of the Union, no matter what the distance of transit involved may be. Of the importance of postal conferences, which meet every five years, it has been said:

"They have undoubtedly done more than any other one thing to impress the world with the idea that a world nation for certain social and political ends is a practicable thing. It can no longer be sneered at as impracticable, because it exists and has existed as a working force for a whole generation. Every man who sends a letter from New York to Tokyo with quick dispatch, for a fee of only five cents, knows that he owes this privilege to an international agreement, and feels himself by virtue of it a citizen of the world."²¹

A signal code for navigators was adopted by England and France in 1864. Other nations from time

to time accepted this code, which was thoroughly revised at Washington in 1899. At present forty states have adopted it. Through the use of flags of various sizes, forms and colors, ships are enabled to communicate with each other and, as Professor Reinsch says, an international sign-language has been created. Through the initiative of England and France, rules concerning navigation routes as well as night signals have been adopted. These were remodeled from time to time, especially at the conference in Washington in 1889. At present they are accepted by thirty states, and although their observance is not obligatory, they are, as a matter of fact, generally observed.

The codification of rules of navigation, properly so called, has led to an endeavor to codify international maritime law or at least parts of it. Due to private initiative, there have been held conferences of a public character, such as the conference at Brussels in 1905, and the more recent conference of September of the present year.

In Railway Freight Transportation, the invention of the locomotive in the twenties of the last century and its successful application to practical purposes, early showed the necessity for international regulation of the transit of merchandise from one country to another. In 1847 the Union of German Railway Administrations was founded and is still in existence, comprising 108 administrations in Germany, Austria-Hungary, Holland, Belgium, Roumania and Russia. The idea of an international union for railway transportation was suggested by two experts of Switzer-

land, and through their endeavors Switzerland called an international conference, which met in 1878 at Berne, resulting in a carefully devised series of regulations for railway transportation and the establishment of a central bureau of control in 1893.

There can be no doubt that the airship will before long be used as a means of communication, and it is likewise free from doubt that its use will bring the nations much closer together and that international conferences must needs be called in order to regulate the new traffic.

The greatest examples of cooperation for the alleviation of human hardships and the promotion of harmony are the various conventions having for their purpose the lessening of the suffering necessarily incident to war. A Swiss physician noticed needless suffering of the wounded on the battlefield of Solferino in the war of 1859 between France and Austria, and through his initiative Switzerland called a conference in 1864 which adopted the Red Cross Convention for the treatment of sick and wounded in land warfare.

In 1868, upon the call of Russia, the character of weapons to be used in warfare was generally regulated.

The Geneva Convention of 1864 was revised at Geneva in 1906, and the principles of the Geneva Convention were extended to naval warfare by the first and second Hague Conferences, and the laws and customs of land warfare proposed at Brussels in 1874 were revised and adopted.

It should be said, however, that the impetus to the

codification of the laws and customs of war was given by general orders issued for the government of the armies of the United States in the field, a code drafted by Professor Francis Lieber, of Columbia College, and promulgated by President Lincoln.

These various movements are striking examples of international cooperation for the mitigation of human suffering, and they indicate in no slight measure a sense of the interdependence of nations and of the solidarity of human interest.

To the category of international cooperation for moral purposes belong the various conventions concerning crimes and prison reform, the Brussels conferences for the suppression of the slave trade, and the Congress of Zurich to repress the white-slave trade.

Connected with the purposes of these international agreements for the lessening of suffering and for the safeguarding of morality are the various international agreements of an economic nature and for the protection of economic interests. Such are the Metric Union for the unification of the standards of weights and measures; various conventions for the protection of industrial, literary, and artistic property; the international union for the publication of customs tariffs; the international conferences for the protection of labor; the various sugar conventions; the agricultural institute at Rome, due to the initiative of an American citizen; and, finally, the international conferences on hygiene and demography. The labor of these various instrumentalities of international cooperation can only be productive of great good.

Many private conferences have been held during the past century and a half, and much has been done in that way to bring nations together by showing the identity of interest and the oneness of the world. Political conferences are much more striking, especially if they represent many states and are diplomatic in character, but it is doubtful if these conferences are so genuinely helpful and produce such beneficial results as the less formal and more individual conferences due to private or semi-public initiative which meet with constant and surprising regularity. If we bear in mind that these conferences are usually attended by people of achievement in their various lines and professions, we can readily see what influence they are quietly exerting. No conventions are drawn up, no treaties are negotiated, but the results enter into the life and thought of the nations.

As distinct from the conferences called for economic, commercial or moral purposes, political conferences have been very frequent in the past two centuries. At first they met at the end of war to conclude peace. More recently conferences have been called in time of peace to regulate future warfare. More recently still, indeed within the last generation, conferences have met in time of peace to devise means for preserving peace instead of devising rules for future warfare. These conferences have had one point in common, namely, that the termination of war by the conclusion of peace, the regulation of eventual war and the settlement of difficulties without a resort to war are matters of international concern. How-

ever important the acts of these conferences, the fact of their meeting was even more important, for it is evidence that the common interest of nations is being recognized as superior to their special interests and that unity of action in international matters may yet control the unrestrained, unregulated or isolated action of independent states.

In 1907 The Hague Peace Conference adopted the joint project of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Germany for the establishment of an international prize court, whose jurisdiction, as its name implies, extends to cases of prize which can only arise during a state of war.

Very recently the State Department has proposed, in a circular note to the powers, that the prize court should also be invested with the jurisdiction and functions of a court of arbitral justice.

The United States as the originator of this project is confidently, yet anxiously, looking forward to its acceptance by the powers which will give to the world an international judicial body to adjudge cases arising in peace as well as controversies incident to war.

One is naturally led to speculate upon the fundamental reasons for the remarkable progress and great effectiveness of international cooperation within the last few decades as compared with earlier times. We conjecture whether it is because of broader and more enlightened views common to the nations of the world, or whether it is for some different basic reason. Does it not rest upon the practically simultaneous operation of the common mind and the conscience of the

world upon common knowledge? One can readily understand the force and effect of a concurrent expression of international opinion made while the subject upon which it operates is a fresh and burning one as compared with the disconnected and ineffective expression of the same opinion when made at different times after the facts upon which it rests.

Instantaneous world communication is very modern.

Ribs of steel and nerves of wire have not only bound nations together in a single body for many purposes and communicated thought, but have enabled them, sharing a common knowledge, animated by a common conscience, to take common and contemporaneous action while the need is yet fresh.

This view is well stated by Judge Baldwin in an able and interesting article on International Congresses, published some time ago.

Speaking of the impulse toward social co-ordination, he said:

"This impulse will be felt as a cosmic force in precise proportion to the psychological contact of nation with nation. Until the days of steam transportation there were few in any country, even among its leaders, who ever went far from their own land. The seventeenth century had indeed established the practice of maintaining permanent legations for diplomatic intercourse; but it was an intercourse limited to official circles. Modern facilities for travel, modern uses of electricity, and the modern press have put the world, and even the embassy, on a different footing. There is no place left that is safe enough to hide

state secrets. The telegraph and telephone have conquered time and space. The newspaper gives daily to every one for two cents what a hundred years ago all the governments in the world could not have commanded in a year.

"Nations have been brought together by material forces, starting into action greater immaterial forces. Electricity is finishing what steam began. Men come close together who breathe a common intellectual atmosphere; who are fed daily by the same currents of thought; who hear simultaneously of the same events; who are eager to disclose to each other whatever new thing, coming to the knowledge of any, is worthy the notice of all."

The disposition, then, to take concerted international action grows with the opportunity thus afforded by the marvelous modern development in the means of communication. Each nation instantaneously feels the compulsion of the public opinion of all nations. Compare, for example, modern exchanges of views between governments, swiftly reaching a common basis of action and resulting increasingly in ends beneficent to the whole world, with former ignorance and mutual suspicions largely due to ignorance, resulting in no common action and permitting aggressions and abuses by single nations or small groups which to-day the concert of all nations protests against more and more loudly and less and less tolerates.

Then, just as individuals and separate nations advance in the fruits of civilization and display in their conduct higher regard for honesty and justice and

peace, and less tolerance for wrong and oppression and cruelty, so these ideals of private and national conduct are manifestly inspiring all nations in their relations with each other. As nations understand each other better and the world draws closer together in the recognition of a common humanity and conscience, of common needs and purposes, there is carried into the international field the insistent demand for greater unity in enforcing everywhere the principles of a high morality and, by restraints mutually applied and observed, all the human ameliorations without which both national and international life would soon fall into anarchy and decadence.

PHILANDER C. KNOX

PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR INTERNATIONAL CONCILIATION

1. Program of the Association, by Baron d'Estournelles de Constant. April, 1907.
2. Results of the National Arbitration and Peace Congress, by Andrew Carnegie. April, 1907.
3. A League of Peace, by Andrew Carnegie. November, 1907.
4. The results of the Second Hague Conference, by Baron d'Estournelles de Constant and Hon. David Jayne Hill. December, 1907.
5. The Work of the Second Hague Conference, by James Brown Scott. January, 1908.
6. Possibilities of Intellectual Co-operation Between North and South America, by L. S. Rowe. April, 1908.
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27. The Moral Equivalent of War, by William James. February, 1910.
28. International Unity, by Philander C. Knox. March, 1910.

A small edition of a monthly bibliography of articles having to do with international matters is also published and distributed to libraries, magazines and newspapers.

Up to the limit of the editions printed, any one of the above will be sent postpaid upon receipt of a request addressed to the Secretary of the American Association for International Conciliation, Post Office Sub-Station 84, New York, N. Y.

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THE UNITED STATES AND AUSTRALIA



BY

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Vice-Principal, Teachers College, Sydney, N. S. W.

MARCH, 1910, No. 28

(*Supplement*)

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THE UNITED STATES AND AUSTRALIA

To reflect upon international relations is to conclude that the greatest enemy of the future is the past. It is indeed fortunate that America and Australia have had no wars, no jealousies, no commercial or industrial antagonisms, no discords in the fair and perfect harmonies that have distinguished their too few and meagre relations. Would that the United States and Australia knew more of each other. What they know of one another, they admire; and the name of foreigner is unknown between them. The following speeches are not rhetorical, but actual. The first is from a Sydney man. "Is he from the States? I look upon an American as a brother." The second comes from New York. "An Australian? I have longed to visit Australia, to me a land of greatest promise for the future of the human race." For myself, it is a privilege to be able to affirm that these speeches are not only true, but typical; and if an extended sojourn of a number of years in both Australia and America counts for nothing more but only to enable my word to have greater weight in this assertion, I shall not count that sojourn to have been in vain. Indeed, it appears to me that the international relations of America and Australia have a strictly unique and peculiar basis. The *ententes cordiales* of other nations are difficult to achieve and somewhat artificial; their per-

manence exists only as an ideal; but the brotherhood of the United States and Australia is no longer an ideal, it is a reality; and the courtesy and steadfastness of their intercourse, the genuine mutual affection of the greater sister and the less, may yet become a type and precedent for the happier international relations that future years will surely bring to other powers.

Think for a moment what this means. America, on the throne of the Western world, whose garb of peace carries equal weight in the councils of nations with the swords of kings and emperors, is profoundly esteemed by a younger relative that has advanced almost suddenly from infancy to girlhood under the swift stimulation of Southern suns. Is this enthusiastic admiration and affection of young Australia not worth having? Is it to be rejected because Australia is not an independent power? It is true that she is not a power at all; it is truer that she is one of the greater powers. She is not a power because in theory subject to the British parliament and king. She is a greater power because of her vast potentialities and moral freedom. Hers is not the freedom of theory, but of fact; not of negation, but of affirmation; not of forms and documents, but activity. In short, hers is the only freedom worth having—that of self-responsibility and self-control. Her national life is the expression of her uncorrupted and spirited nature. Her king, her British flag, her inheritance in English history, are hers and she will not abandon them; she is in the meantime subjected to no institu-

tions that are not freely adopted as her own. With the breadth of her domain, the purity of her stock, and the democracy of her institutions, is she not a worthy friend and ally even for America? These are two of the world's broadest lands of peace, hospitality and brotherhood. How few are such lands! May their influence be felt among the strangely quarrelsome and divided families that have worked havoc in the past with the destinies of the human race.

In the case of Americans who are familiar with Australia and Australians, there is nothing lukewarm or negative in their international friendships. Under such circumstances the mutual affection becomes positive, active, fertile of results in the widening and deepening of the intellectual and moral life. But there are many citizens of the United States to whom Australia is but a name, denoting an island in outlandish seas, a home perhaps of convicts or the descendants of such, a hunting ground of unintelligent aborigines, a prey of outlaws and bushrangers, a seat of vague terrors and alarms, a synonym for adventure and insecurity. Even the vain imaginations of the sailors of Columbus never traced a falser set of geographical pictures than these. When one reflects that this is an age of the dissemination of truth and the dissolution of falsehood, it is almost incredible that the persistency of these misconceptions should have all but rivalled that of the belief in witchcraft or the movement of the sun around the earth. But at this point a word should be addressed to all who do not know Australia and Australians, a word super-

fluous to those who know. If one of the barriers to international conciliation is historical prejudice, the other is ignorance. There is no historical prejudice between the United States and Australia, but there is a little mutual ignorance which may easily be removed, and this ignorance is greater among Americans because the eyes of the world are fixed more often and curiously upon the greater than the lesser sister. Every Australian has an active friendship for America; every American either an active or passive regard for Australia; it is the purpose of these pages to transform the passive into the active appreciation by the introduction of a little geographical and social light into the dark places of our misty perceptions of what the southern continent really means.

For Australia is a continent rather than an island. The mighty block of her territories has all the immensity of the United States; its area of three million square miles is not greatly less than the whole extent of Europe. It is partly this common element of noble spaciousness that endears Australia to America. Australia faces the pioneer settler as America did the forefathers of her great nation. Both have their traditions of work and heroism in the face of untamed and primitive nature, their experiences of success and disaster where disaster and success have meant so much more than in the conventional circumstances of every day life. Both are experienced in the charm of the wilderness, the loneliness and melancholy of unlimited empty wastes, the feeling of the kinship of animal and vegetable life to the mind and heart of man. Both

have the vigor, both the morality that dares and suffers all things; the manliness that is the pledge of progress and the promise of success. Under these conditions America and Australia are the lands of tall, large-minded, clean, free manhood and womanhood. For example, elaborate statistics have proved that the school children of New South Wales are at almost every age taller, heavier and of better physique than those of the most robust cities of the old world. At fourteen the Sydney boy is two and a half inches taller and nearly fourteen pounds heavier than the Glasgow boy, the Sydney girl more than two inches taller and eleven and a half pounds heavier than the Glasgow girl; yet Glasgow is no mean city, no seat of degeneracy or want.

There is no need to apologise for Australia. One is almost ashamed to continue to defend her against the misconceptions of her merely passive friends. But a final word may be addressed to those who like, but do not comprehend her, to those of her American friends who would be courteous, but whose ignorance leads them to offend. There is no trace of criminal descent in her population of four and a half millions of white inhabitants. The last convicts reached her shores in 1840, few in the midst of a free population, forgotten in the floods of immigration of the golden fifties, exiled mainly for petty or political offenses, serving long terms and rarely founding families, though their children were as good as those of other men. There are no outlaws in Australian wilds; no animals dangerous to man. There are no aborigines,

except in the inland wilds; for example, in New South Wales there are only 4,287, included in a total population estimated in March, 1909, at 1,614,517. There is no tax or tribute to the motherland, no practical bond except the sentiment of kinship, which claims oneness with the sisterland also.

It is, however, true that these connections are supplemented in the case of England and Australia by a congruity of material interests. Seventy per cent of the trade of Australia is with the United Kingdom; but an appreciable bulk finds its way to the United States. This trade, this economic relation of buyer and seller, is not derogatory to spiritual worth nor hostile to moral life. If America had no trade with Australia, these countries would have a very limited basis of mutual understanding. Commerce provides the nations with ramifying situations in and through which they gradually come to know each other better. Every reliable bale of wool that Australia sends to America, every serviceable agricultural implement that returns by the steamer from the States, is a means of developing mutual esteem. In these days the work declares the reputation of the doer, and the merit or demerit of a commercial product is immediately transferred by popular opinion to the higher region of the ethics of the personal life. Australia and America usually deal well and honorably by each other. The more their merchants know of one another, the better are their goods, the purer their dealings, and the heartier their goodwill.

It is well to call attention to the manner in which

economic factors bring moral and cultural elements in their train. Without the economic fact of automobiles, there would be little talk of speed laws, the rights of pedestrians, the duty of drivers to take positive precautions in the interests of the public, or to return to assist an injured person in the face of arrest and possible conviction. In short, a great body of moral and intellectual problems and situations would have disappeared. In just the same way the moral aspect of international life is fundamentally united with the figures of trade. Let us therefore turn for a moment to the American official figures on trade conditions with Australia. It seems that in 1907 the trade of the United States with Victoria amounted to \$15,000,000; with New South Wales approximately \$17,000,000; with the other colonies smaller amounts.

It is, however, agreed by experts that if the conditions of the Australian market were more fully studied, American manufacturers of tools, buggies, piece-goods, denims, sheetings, furniture, pianos, boots and shoes, clocks and watches, and the like would be able to greatly augment the oversea popularity of their goods and develop intercourse and friendship to an ever increasing degree between the nations. The greatest single misfortune that the relationship of the United States and Australia has ever suffered is that the American line of steamships running directly from San Francisco to Sydney has been recently abandoned. The possibilities of commercial relations with Australia are none the less almost unbounded, as her total imports of merchandise in 1906

amounted to \$207,000,000, and of specie and bullion \$11,000,000; while exports of merchandise were estimated at \$248,000,000, of specie and bullion \$75,000,000. These figures are a reminder that when all is said and done, America owns a greater proportion of the heart and imagination of Australia than her trade.

The true continuity of Australian and American life, the full extent of the reciprocity of trans-Pacific sentiment, was never so lucidly illustrated as during the sojourn of the great fleet of sixteen peaceful battle-ships which flew the Stars and Stripes under Rear-Admiral Sperry in Australian waters in 1908. It was the writer's privilege to stand on the cliffs at the entrance to Sydney's majestic harbour on that memorable twentieth of August when the long white line dipped its sixteen flags in turn as they daintily swung round the curve of the Heads to the sound of the cheers of scores of thousands of enthusiastic spectators. The visit of the officers and men of the fleet at this time was as agreeable to themselves as it was significant of the importance of that portion of the British Empire, and of the real feelings of kinship with which Americans are regarded by the Australian people. The standard toast was that of "Our Allies, Friends, and Brothers—the American Nation." In the words of the message sent by Governor-General Northcote to President Roosevelt, the people of the Australian Commonwealth rejoiced at the opportunity to express their sincere admiration of the American sailors, and their esteem and

affection for the country whose glorious flag they hoped to see always floating beside that of their motherland.

Australia has more traditions in common with America than any other country. Who, then, would accentuate the differences? Who would not rejoice that the differences are superficial, but the unities deep and abiding? It is not desirable to needlessly insist upon the bond of kinship, real and important though it may be, for in these days the relations between nations and individuals are affected less by ties of blood than propinquity and the co-operative pursuit of joint aims. The United States and Australia are neighbours, united rather than divided by the vast emptiness of Pacific waters. They face one another with an unchanging front of friendship across the vast highway that is destined perhaps at some time to eclipse in importance all the other oceanic avenues of intercourse. Together they pursue the high ideals of brotherhood, liberty and the judgment of a man by his own inner worth rather than the accidents of birth or fortune. They profess a common language, they interchange citizens and current literature. These exchanges are profitable to both countries, though America secures a majority of the citizens interchanged, while Australia profits excessively in the number of books. The Australians are even beginning to "guess," "say," and "calculate" as if all their ancestry came originally from Vermont.

Next to the bonds of language and kinship, the conspicuous element of community in American and

Australian life is the universal prevalence of the democratic spirit and democratic institutions. It is difficult for an American to comprehend how Australian institutions can be more democratic than his own; but such is in reality the case. The distinctive feature of representative government in Australia, in both the state and the federal sphere, is its democratic elasticity. For example, if the Australian public desired to effect a downward revision of the tariff, there is no possible combination of political circumstances that could long delay this end. In Australia the plutocrat has never got hold of any considerable leverage on the rights of the individual. If America first revealed to the eye of the world the spectacle of a land which, without loss of stability, embodied the ideas of liberty and justice in its everyday relationships, then Australia has shown how the same liberty, increased rather than diminished in its actual operation, can consist with loyalty to a monarchical institution and affection for an imperial flag.

Australia has freely embraced the United States of America as a friend and teacher. She definitely studies and adapts to her own use the systems of education, agriculture, irrigation, manufacture, amusement and social intercourse which her great and powerful neighbour has already tested and approved. In her turn she demonstrates certain object lessons that are receiving an increased amount of attention from expert American sociologists and economists. She has already bestowed upon America the ballot, and the Torrens title for land investments. She has

shown that under certain conditions railways and other great business enterprises may be successfully owned and operated exclusively by the people through a democratic government. She has probed the possibilities of woman's suffrage. She has made the necessary sacrifices to provide old age pensions. She has done without poor rates and work-houses. She has given free education and opportunity to all her citizens. She has centralized the control of street cars, telegraphs, telephones, postal and express services in the hands of the state. She has opened her doors wide to the desirable, but rigidly closed them to the undesirable immigrant. She has made public provision for free lands for the settler, fair wages and moderate hours for the worker, and even half-holidays every week for employees. Most of these and other progressive measures are matters for the thought, if not the imitation, of America. For there is a real, living, organic community between the United States and the young white power that faces her across the southern seas. It is such that an American may live in Australia, or an Australian in America, and feel all the time as perfectly at home as if in his own country. There seems to be every prospect, therefore, that the unity of Australian and American sentiment will increase and flourish, lifting individuals beyond the pale of national prejudice to the serenest heights of humanity.

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THE UNITED STATES AND GERMANY



BY

JUDGE KARL VON LEWINSKI

Berlin, Germany

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American Association for International Conciliation
Sub-station 84 (501 West 116th Street)
New York City

The Executive Committee of the Association for International Conciliation wish to arouse the interest of the American people in the progress of the movement for promoting international peace and relations of comity and good fellowship between nations. To this end they print and circulate documents giving information as to the progress of these movements, in order that individual citizens, the newspaper press, and organizations of various kinds may have readily available accurate information on these subjects.

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THE UNITED STATES AND GERMANY

In contemplating the common commercial, intellectual and social features of America and Germany we have to consider the two countries as they now stand: the United States since the beginning of her imperialistic politics, Germany since she has developed into a leading exporting and naval power and into an industrial and manufacturing centre.

Each is indebted to the other in important respects for the numerous features in common, with prospects of a still more combined growth.

The United States' indebtedness to Germany might be measured by the five to six millions of German immigrants and the characteristics impressed by them on their adopted fatherland.

Greatest in numbers the German farmer, driven first by religious intolerance, later by oppressive social conditions, found shelter here, from the Mennonites in 1682, who established themselves and their customs in Pennsylvania, to those who during the last century settled in New York State, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin and Minnesota. Well informed in their profession, not without means usually, they brought and held their own.

Next came the skilled workmen, forming an important element in the growing manufacturing centres of the East and Middle West.

Accustomed to be subjects at home, wanting only freedom in the pursuit of their work and simple pleasures, they did not try to change existing conditions; but so great were their numbers, that many rural districts and many city quarters bear striking similarity to such found in Germany to-day.

A particular class among the German immigrants was formed by the so-called Forty-eighters, political refugees, who were as a rule highly educated, lovers of philosophy, art and music.

The German-born population of the United States in 1900 was 2,663,418, against 1,615,459 Irish and 848,513 English. New York City alone numbered in 1902 785,035 inhabitants of German descent, so it is not hard to understand why the United States and Germany show in so many points a greater similarity than any other two countries.

In trade and commerce the preëminent features of both nations are a universal optimism, great daring, a far-sighted spirit of enterprise and a growing influence of single powerful personalities.

While this has been true of America from the beginning, only in the last decades the old Hanseatic spirit has overthrown a too cautious, almost narrow-minded conservatism in Germany. Now we find her trade expanding from Asia to South America, while the whole

of Europe has been made the United States' market for raw materials and even for some manufactured articles.

However, a difference is shown between the countries in the preparation for the practical work. Though both have excellent commercial, industrial and technical schools, the Americans are still not inclined to devote a great length of time to theoretical study before entering the field of real business. Among them the restless impatience and eagerness for present results still prevails, while in Germany the necessity of a more thorough extended course as set forth by the curriculum of the schools turns its students out more broadly and theoretically prepared.

Common to both countries is the immense increase of foreign trade in the last decades; different, however, its character. The United States is still mainly an agricultural and mining country; her industry works principally for the domestic market. Her export of manufactures, although growing, is still comparatively small, while the exportation of raw materials has reached an immense height. Germany, on the other side, is now an industrial country, and although more than one-third of the population is still engaged in farming, the immense army of industrial workmen must be fed partly on imported grain and the factories supplied with imported raw materials. Germany's export consists chiefly of manufactures. Like the United States, however, she has a great domestic

industry-market, and her factories do not depend on the foreign trade alone.

Germany buys at the present time much more from the United States than she sells to her. In 1907 the United States imported from Germany \$161,543,556, in 1908 \$142,935,549 worth of merchandise. The export in the same years valued \$256,595,563 and \$276,922,089.

Among the goods exported to Germany, cotton, copper, pork, lard, corn, oil and wheat rank first; among the imports from Germany, cotton and silk goods, ceramics, gloves, toys, chemicals, beet sugar, skins and paper goods.

We find that the United States and Germany both follow the protectionistic system. Different, however, are their opinions as to the degree of protection necessary. Under the old tariff laws about 60% of the German goods have been dutiable here, against 50% of the American goods on the other side. The rates on dutiable goods have been twice as high in America as in Germany. The new tariff will increase the rates on about one-quarter of the goods imported from Germany, and will affect 4.5% (paper goods, cotton and silk manufactures) nearly prohibitively.

In spite of that the trade between the two countries will as a whole in times of prosperity hardly decrease, because the American and German merchants will find new openings to continue their commercial relations.

Large concerns in different branches of industry and trade organized in order to exclude competition are found in both the United States and Germany. The Sugar Trust, the Kali Syndicate and the Steel Trust are German examples of this class. Germany has, upon thorough investigation, so far not considered it necessary to issue any anti-trust laws. She follows the principle often emphasized in America—that large business concerns as a whole are an unavoidable and healthy stage of development, and that the state is only called upon to prevent abuses of the powers concentrated in them.

Not long ago the American considered as the main intellectual feature of Germany a weak, almost sentimental idealism, while the German formerly looked at the American as a pure materialist. Since both nations know each other better, they have learned that these opinions are unjustified, although there is some truth at the base of each.

The great ideals of liberty and justice are equally dear to both nations; if we, however, consider idealism as the habit of seeing something else in life besides success alone, of spending part of one's life in training the mind for the enjoyment of beauty and greatness in nature, art and literature, Germany has something to teach America.

The American is accustomed to make the best of his strong, practical sense. He throws all his life into his work, all his energy and all his time. The German,

although not less one-sided in his general business, takes his leisure and devotes part of his life to pleasures of a higher order. It is apparent, however, that this difference is now at the vanishing point, partly because of the lower tide in the rush of business, partly as a result of broader education and of journeys to foreign countries, partly through the influence of the German-born population and their descendants.

That the Americans are not less capable of idealism than any other nation is clearly shown in American university life, where everything that has proved good and beautiful in the world's culture is taught by broad-minded professors and readily understood by clear-eyed and warm-hearted students. We will find that German humanism is playing just as important a part here as across the water.

Since 1820 it has become an ever-increasing habit of American students to visit German universities. To-day many hundreds yearly listen to German professors, not enumerating the thousands who go for research and to study the arts. It is natural that in the course of so many years German ideas have been transplanted by enthusiastic American scholars to the home soil. Free independent research, the shining gem in the fame of German universities, is now not less deeply rooted in American science, and more and more German students cross the ocean yearly to study at the centres of American learning

One thing emphasized with equal force in American and German general education is patriotism—one of the most preëminent qualities of both nations, powerful and similar at the same time. Fifty years ago the German patriotism was rather morose; it had to look back with sentimental veneration at past greatness. Now the German is proud of the present power of his country, a pride which counts in a man's life and work. It is the same kind of patriotism which grows in the United States, and both nations will understand and honor the pride of the other, because it is backed not by vain enthusiasm but by strong reality.

The intellectual features of the United States and Germany have found their true personification in Theodore Roosevelt and Emperor William II, two men of striking similarity, both of the highest optimism, gifted with a broad sense of practical philosophy, a faithful belief and a tireless energy in advancing the good, and with a universal interest for anything that might help the world's development.

The social conditions of the United States and Germany are necessarily widely affected by the different forms of government.

The main feature of the old monarchy was its firmly built classes-system, which did not permit the lower to rise, while the Republic grants a fair opportunity to everyone. The Germany of to-day is no more a monarchy in the above sense; the boundary lines are more laxly drawn and a democratic spirit is pervading

the people. Noblemen are becoming merchants, the lower classes send their sons to the bar and the bench and even the army no longer reserves its officer's sword for the nobleman. American individualism, granting the proper place to the fittest man, wherever he comes from, is becoming more and more the rule in monarchic Germany.

A consequence of the former classes-system has been the growth of the social-democratic party, the "workman's party," the open program of which is to abolish the monarchy and to establish a republic on the principles of public ownership, public supervision of education, work and reward. The party's old hatred against the monarchy and the "ruling classes" is no longer justifiable under the now changed circumstances and in view of Germany's workman's insurance laws. There are signs that the social-democratic party will leave its old, merely negative standpoint, and proceed to an active work for public welfare side by side with the liberal parties and with the government itself.

The United States has no social-democratic party in the German sense and will never have one, because the principal reasons—monarchial system and class-rule—are missing. The natural struggle of the workman for better conditions is fought by the trade unions within the frame of their special branches, a sound method in which also the German workman will fight his battles in the near future.

This short survey shows that besides many similarities there are a great number of differences in the general conditions of America and Germany. However, they are all of an internal nature and not apt to cause any antagonism between the two nations.

The possibilities of friction lie on other grounds.

Competition in trade is not likely to cause serious difficulties. They could only arise about the export of manufactured goods to Europe and from Germany to the United States.

The latter's European trade in this branch is still very small, and does not endanger any German industry. The present German competition in the United States will probably decrease temporarily as a consequence of the new tariff; as, however, the German industry will certainly be able to find new markets, this fact may cause temporary but not permanent ill-feeling.

Americans contemplate sometimes as more serious the "German invasion" of South America—less the supremacy of German trade than the expanding German settlements. As a matter of fact, in Latin America there are not many more than one million Germans, spread over an area of eight million square miles, occupied by a native population of more than forty millions.

Only a few of these settlers are German subjects. Most of them are citizens of their adopted countries, and the experience of the United States herself has

shown that German immigrants, although they keep up their Germanism for ornamental and recreative purposes, soon become most thoroughly amalgamated.

It has long been an American trait to see in the strength of another nation not a peril, but an increased guarantee for the peace and the progress of the world. It is most desirable that this wise and far-sighted view should be received as a leading principle everywhere. That it is the true expression of Germany's attitude towards America has been well voiced by Emperor William II, when he said to Mr. W. W. Phelps, then Ambassador in Berlin: "From childhood I have admired the great and expanding community you represent. Among the many conspicuous characteristics of your fellow citizens the world admires in particular their spirit of enterprise, their respect of law and their inventiveness. Germans feel themselves the more drawn to the people of the United States because of the many ties that inevitably accompany kinship of blood. The feeling which both countries entertain most strongly is that of relationship and friendship of long standing, and the future can only strengthen the heartiness of our relations!"

KARL VON LEWINSKI

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THE UNITED STATES AND MEXICO



BY

JAMES DOUGLAS

MAY, 1910, No. 30

American Association for International Conciliation
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THE UNITED STATES AND MEXICO

Its mines were the bait which first tempted foreign capital to enter Mexico, but neither foreigners themselves nor their capital were welcome while Mexico was under Spanish rule. English commercial agents were allowed to reside in Vera Cruz. Their ostensible duty was to manage the African Slave trade, which was exclusively in English hands. But as Spain made no iron or steel or woolen goods, these merchants carried on a profitable business in these commodities. Pablo Macedo in *La Evolution Mercantil* (Page 35), estimates that in the last period of Spanish rule from 1796 to 1820 there were imported into Vera Cruz:

Spanish and colonial goods im-	
ported from other Spanish colonies	\$35,000,000
	or 13.50%
Spanish goods imported direct...	\$112,400,000
	or 43.40%
Foreign goods	\$111,800,000
	or 43.10%
	Total ....\$259,200,000
	or 100.00%

But Spain carefully guarded her mines from all foreign intrusion. They belonged to the Crown, but the King (by Section 2 of Chapter V of the Royal

Ordinance of the Mines), "without separating them from the royal patrimony," grants them "to subjects in property and possessions," under certain conditions. The possessor could dispose of his mine by will or legacy or sale, but only to Spanish subjects. (Charles Thomson's *The Ordinances of the Mines*, Page 55.)

The Spanish republics of the West Hemisphere have all without exception adopted the policy of distinguishing between the ownership of the surface lands, which the State disposes of absolutely, and the ownership of the minerals, of which the State retains possession. All likewise continue, as did old Spain, to levy a percentage on the precious metals extracted. But all Spanish America has abandoned old Spain's selfish desire to reserve the enjoyment of her mines to Spanish subjects. The first step towards revising in the direction of greater liberality, the old Spanish code was the passage by the Mexican Congress of the mining law of 1823. The new statute enacted that "The repeal shall extend only so as to enable foreigners to contract with mine owners for supplying them with capital in all the modes which are usual in such contracts, upon the terms that shall be most convenient to both parties, so that they may even acquire in property shares in the concern to which they supply capital."

The famous mines of Mexico had yielded up to the beginning of the last century \$1,500,000,000. But they had almost without exception been closed when the revolution broke out in 1810. In the interval be-

tween 1810 and the passage of the first enabling act of 1823 they had become flooded, the primitive machinery with which they had been operated had decayed, and the mine owners had been impoverished by their struggle with Spain and by perpetual internal strife.

The Permission to enlist foreign capital was responded to in 1824 by three English associations, "*The United Mexican Association*" with a capital of £240,000, to build a custom smelter as well as to purchase mines (See Taylor's Selections, Page XI), the "Anglo-Mexican Associates," with a capital of £1,000,000, to work mines in the Guanajuato District, including the celebrated Valenciana, and the Purrisima in the Real de Catorce, and the company of the "Adventurers in the Mines of Real del Monte."

Thus commenced, as soon as even partial political stability was secured, the influx of capital into Mexico. Since then the mining laws have been made so liberal that they hardly discriminate between foreigners and natives. But they are based on the fundamental Spanish principle already referred to, that the State maintains perpetual ownership of the minerals. Under Mexican law the Federal Government leases the mineral ground but the tenant's occupancy is secure as long as he pays the rent and observes the other conditions imposed. The common law, which we derive from England, vests in the owner of the surface the ownership of all beneath the surface. But it is a debatable question whether our system or the Spanish conserves best the mineral resources, and

makes the fairer return to the people at large for the enormous values they give away for an insignificant price, when they sell outright their mineral lands. The Mexican government, following Spanish precedent, derives additional revenue by taxing the output. That being the law and custom in Mexico, the State has every motive for encouraging the development of the country's mines and enlisting the assistance of foreign capital. The invitation has been accepted, and foreign corporations have discovered that, besides yielding what alone the conquerors valued—silver and gold—Mexico is rich in copper and lead, and will some day, when other sources of iron ore are becoming exhausted, supply us with what we now sell her—iron and steel.

The number of foreign mining companies in Mexico is 1,116. Of these, about 57 per cent. are controlled by citizens of the United States. It is not possible to segregate the production of foreign mining companies from the total, which has steadily grown till Mexico leads the world in the production of silver, with 61,147,203 ounces in 1907—ranks fifth in the production of gold, which until recently was a neglected branch of mining, and has rapidly risen to second place in the production of copper, that for 1907 having been 61,127 tons. She is only exceeded in the production of lead by the United States, Spain, Germany and Australia. The French Company at Boleo, from its mines in Lower California, took the lead in copper mining, but American companies now

make about 75 per cent. of Mexico's total. And lead smelting is almost entirely in American hands.

John Taylor, in introducing Mexican mining to the British public, said in 1824: "The Mexican people will eventually be much benefited by the application and use of our steam engines, and probably by some other improvements we may carry with them. They invite our assistance in a friendly manner, and there is no doubt that the enlightened part of the nation will regard us favorably. We ought to do our part to deserve their confidence and support. A connection may thus be established which may be beneficial to the present and future generations of both countries." (John Taylor's *Selections from the works of Baron de Humboldt*, 1824, page 419.)

Mr. Taylor's anticipations have been fulfilled so far as they refer to reciprocal material benefits, and his hopes have not been contradicted that besides financial gain international amity has in the long run accrued through the commercial intercourse of foreign investors and the people of Mexico.

It was chiefly English capital that in those early days embarked in Mexican mines or furnished machinery to native mining companies. There was not then money in the United States available for foreign investment. In the next decade the Texas question was settled adversely to Mexico, and in the fourth decade of the century the Mexican War broke out, resulting in the loss of California by Mexico. The neighboring republics were not drawn together by

these successive conflicts, but it was another war which obliterated the rancour and distrust on the part of the Mexicans against the United States. When Mexico was invaded by the French, and Maximilian endeavored to found a Mexican Empire, though the United States were involved in their own terrible internal struggle, sympathy went forth abundantly to Mexico, and it was perfectly understood that this fraternal feeling would find expression in acts conformably to the Monroe Doctrine, if necessity required. From the date of the Maximilian invasion, Mexico has recognized the United States as an ally and not as an enemy, and therefore the current of American money commenced to flow southward across the international boundary. Since then the financial rivulet has become a flood of such volume as not unnaturally to excite some uneasiness in the Mexican mind. American money is now building most of the Mexican railroads and working not only old gold and silver mines, but proving that the rocks of the Republic are rich in the inferior metals, which in the past were neglected, partly because they could not have been profitably recovered on a large scale without the aid of railroad transportation.

From Dr. Peñafiel's Statistical Tables of the Movement of Mining Companies, we gather that the average annual investment in mines during the sixteen years between 1892-1907 has been, reduced to gold, \$7,000,000, of which Mexico contributed about 51 per cent. and the United States 34 per cent. But dur-

ing that period substantially all the large metallurgical establishments have been built by American capital, and are managed by Americans. United States Consul General Barlow estimated in 1902 that there was then \$80,000,000 of American capital invested in mines. That figure is under the mark to-day. The impression made by the heavy American investment must be measured not only by dollars and cents, but by the scale on which the American mining and smelting operations are conducted. This involves the concentration of population at certain centers under distinctly American influences, which at times creates disquietude in the public mind.

But the investments made by the United States in Mexican mines are insignificant as compared with the money which this country has contributed to the building of Mexican railroads. Looking backward to the progress of railroad building in the Republic, we find that the first railroad, that from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico, owed its existence to English enterprise; and though in the interval between that date and to-day most of the railroad work has been done by Americans, the latest completed road, that across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, with its well equipped termini on the Atlantic and Pacific, has been built for and leased from the Mexican Government by an English firm. As soon, however, as the Santa Fe Railroad reached El Paso, the Mexican Central was commenced as a road, allied to the Santa Fe, and built from El Paso to the City of Mexico between 1882

and 1884. And the Santa Fe Railroad itself subsequently reached the Gulf of California at Guaymas by the Sonora Railroad. This branch of the Santa Fe, however, terminated at Benson, on the Southern Pacific, in Arizona, and has since been secured by the Southern Pacific in exchange for a California connection. It thus has become the nucleus of the extensive system which the Southern Pacific is building along the West Coast of Mexico, with the object not only of traversing the deltas of the Yaqui, Mayo and Fuerte Rivers, and reaching their boundless agricultural possibilities, and of developing the mineral wealth of Sonora and Sinaloa, but of linking the Capital and the Plateau States with the Western States. It will thus afford to the Republic the same political and industrial unity which the trans-continental roads have given to the United States. In the eighties, while the Mexican Central was building, Gen. Palmer proposed to connect the Denver & Rio Grande with a system of 36-inch roads from Laredo southward into Mexico, then called the Mexican National. It was designed to perform the same service for mines in the mountain districts of northeastern Mexico as his roads were giving to Colorado miners. His complete programme was never carried out, and the Mexican National has since been converted into a broad gauge and become government property. Another railroad crossing the frontier into Mexico was built in that same early period by Mr. Huntington to connect his Southern Pacific at Eagle Pass with the coal mines of

Coahuila. This has been extended to Torreon, the City of Durango, and the City of Mesris, and now forms one of the members of the combination of railroads controlled and operated by the Government as the National Railways of Mexico. At present, besides the Southern Pacific system, Stillwell's Orient Road is designed to connect Kansas City, through Chihuahua, with Topolobampo, on the Pacific, and meanwhile a company is, with American, Canadian and English capital, carrying out Mr. Greene's railroad and lumbering schemes in the Sierra Madre on a most extensive scale.

Of the 24,142 kilometers of steam railroad already constructed in Mexico, not including private roads, only 2,800 kilometers have been built by European capital, 1,530 kilometers by the Mexican Government or native corporations, and the balance, say 19,000 kilometers, have been built by American capital. But though the Government built less than 2,000 kilometers, they now control no less than 11,828 kilometers, or nearly one-half of the total mileage, and operate all the roads they control, with slight exceptions.

Like the Government of Belgium and some other European states, the Mexican Government grants to the concessionaire simply a lease of their own road for one hundred years. The road bed and all immovable property then passes into the possession of the Government, the rolling stock alone to be paid for on a valuation. Now, the policy of the Government seems to be to obtain control of all the principal rail-

road thoroughfares in advance of the expiry of the concessions, and as the terms they have offered to the security holders of such roads as have already been acquired are fair and even liberal, not only has the transfer been made, without exciting friction or discontent, but the transaction has accentuated the confidence of foreign capitalists in the good faith of the Government and the security of their investments.

Under the terms of the merger, arrangement has been made by which the bonds will be redeemed before the expiration of the concession, through a sinking fund. But the value of the stock expires with the concession, when in any case the stock would be almost worthless.

According to the Mexican Journal of Commerce, the foreign capital invested in Mexican railroads up to the end of 1903 was \$767,151,848, Mexican currency. Although at present this must be divided nearly by half, owing to the depreciation in silver, much of the money was expended when silver was \$1.29. Of that large total, 80 per cent. is assumed to have been contributed by the United States. Since that date the Southern Pacific of Mexico has embarked on its vast scheme of railroad construction, which it is estimated will cost \$70,000,000 in gold.

The South American Journal, published in London, states that the investments of British capital have reached £139,247,661, or, say, \$690,000,000, of which, however, about one-half is in Government Bonds. Mexican railroads owned by British companies have

issued £17,308,000 of securities, and on railroads owned and controlled by the Mexican Government over £37,000,000 have been expended. Of British and Canadian capital, there is said to have been invested in street railroads, power plants, ranches, and other industrial enterprises, £14,510,741, and it is proposed to invest not less than £10,000,000 in Chihuahua lumber and railroad schemes.

The advantages of the freest interchange of capital between countries in return for national products, and for providing means for industrial development, are generally admitted, and most communities, if they have neither the money nor the skill to utilize their resources, rejoice if foreigners enter and aid them, provided the foreigners, in so doing, obey the law. But there are national susceptibilities as well as statutory laws, which must be observed if foreign money and foreign skill and influence are to be welcomed in a foreign country. If we compare the conditions of industrial life in the United States and in Mexico, we will recognize striking differences which may require special treatment.

- The investment of foreign capital in national companies under the management of natives and employing native labor can be regarded only as beneficial to the country receiving it. Nor need it give rise to jealousy. Enormous amounts of money are sought for and transmitted from England, France and Germany, to be employed in building railroads and in conducting industrial enterprises in the United States.

But with few exceptions the management is exclusively in American hands, and the law forbids the importation of contract labor. In Mexico the conditions are the reverse. Until recently the railroads were owned by foreign corporations—their boards were composed of foreigners and the best paid posts both in the administrative and the operating departments were filled by foreigners. Under such circumstances—if from no other consideration—it was a wise measure of Señor Limantour to acquire the North and South trunk roads and to control most of the other principal highways of traffic. In a prospectus of the "National Railways of Mexico," Mr. Bennett, the Vice-President, says that "the Company now owns by direct ownership the properties formerly known as the Mexican Central Railway Company, Ltd., National Railroad Company of Mexico, and Hidalgo and North-Eastern Railroad Company, Limited; and controls through stock ownership the Mexican International Railroad Company, the Interoceanic Railway of Mexico (Acapulco to Vera Cruz), Ltd., the Texas-Mexican Railway and the Mexican Pacific Railway Company, and the total mileage is 6,987 miles."

The action of the Federal administration and the National Congress, in forestalling the acquisition of the railroads by the country in advance of the termination of their franchises, is in response to a pronounced national movement which is not anti-foreign, but *pro patria*. The Government does not wish to arrest the flow of foreign capital into the country,

but desires to secure Mexican co-operation in the development not only of the means of transportation but of the nation's natural resources. There is no reason why Mexican mining companies, for instance—not foreign companies, with a protocolized dummy Mexican corporation, but actual Mexican companies, with Mexicans as well as foreigners on the boards—should not in time be organized and operated. Mexican methods would naturally have to be brought into closer harmony with foreign methods than they are to-day before that consummation is reached, but it would be desirable, when mining properties are sold by Mexicans to foreigners, that the value of the mines should be taken in stock by the owners. Thus native knowledge of the laws and habits of the country in which the property exists would supplement in the general management the business methods and technical skill provided by the stock owned by the foreign capital.

Meanwhile, however, both on the railroads and in the mines and smelting works, preference should always be given to native labor. There is a dearth of technical skill in Mexico, but Mexican youths can be rapidly trained into good technical workers. As little foreign labor as possible, either manual, technical or clerical, should be employed. Foreign labor always commands a higher wage than is paid for similar work done by Mexicans, and till the Mexican is trained to the level of imported workmen, the Mexican deserves less. But it is an invidious distinction,

however real; and it inevitably creates heartburning and discontent. On railroads, native employees can fill a much wider sphere than they generally do. As train hands they are apt, and obedient to orders, and as locomotive engineers and firemen they show distinct mechanical instincts.

They are fearless and brave. On a narrow gauge line between the Pilares Mine and the works at Placerita, in Sonora, a Mexican engineer, Jesus Garcia, with a Mexican crew, in the employ of the Moco-tezuma Copper Co., was hauling open cars loaded with dynamite. When on a grade near the town of Nacozari, boxes containing the dynamite were discovered to be on fire. Anxious to pull the train to a safe distance from the town, he turned on steam. Not a man left his post till Garcia, seeing that the brakemen could not avert the catastrophe, ordered them to jump. He, however, remained on the locomotive, and with his hand on the throttle was blown into atoms, meeting a fate he knew to be inevitable, but which he was willing to suffer in order to save others. He was only a Mexican *peon*, but he represented the stolid bravery of the race, which, moreover, is not lacking in intelligence, and which, under just and firm guidance, can be educated to occupy any position which men of other nationalities of the same training can fill. As a miner the Mexican possesses manual dexterity of a high order, but it requires time to eradicate the old habits of mine working, which he and his forebears have acquired through

generations of practice. Around a furnace he is at home. Like all dwellers in a tropical or semi-tropical clime, he has never felt the necessity of steady work, and therefore has never habituated himself to it; but he rapidly learns to discard sandals and wear shoes, and to imitate the higher standards of living of his northern fellow-workers. He soon learns that to maintain that position he must make money and work steadily. He therefore abandons his erratic habits. If the managers of foreign companies would temporarily submit to some inconvenience and annoyance, involved in employing more Mexicans and fewer foreign workmen, they would before long not only find it to be to their profit, but they would help to alleviate the smouldering feeling of jealousy and dread which can be used so widely and successfully by such agitators as wish to use the *pro patria* movement for political purposes.

There is no denying that a dread of the overwhelming strength of the United States has always possessed the Mexican mind. Don Pablo Macedo, in his chapter on Railroads, tells us of the conferences which preceded the adoption of the railroad policy in Mexico. He says: "In deciding on the gauge the truth is that the question was discussed, whether or not they should accept the gauge adopted by their neighbours of the Northern Republic. It was a consideration of the gravest moment, and transcended all others. No one, and still less statesmen of the status of Señor Lerdo de Tejada, has ever been blind

to the danger that we run from the nearness of our colossal neighbors on the north. In comparison with the United States—more's the pity—we must confess that we then figured, and we still do, as a mere pigmy. Besides this the sad memory of the iniquitous war of 1847, which cost us the half of our territory, is more than enough cause to excite uneasiness and even dread. Such apprehension is certainly not unreasonable or groundless. As a consequence, the distinct object of our international policy has necessarily always been, in the first place, to grow by natural expansion, to fortify our national organisms, and then to seek from the other side of the Atlantic a support which alone can be efficacious by creating, acclimatizing and strengthening European interests and elements. Unfortunately, the unjustifiable French interventions, obliging us to sustain a war *à l'outrance* in order to preserve our very existence as a nation, interrupted our organic development, and not only weakened our position physically, through the material sacrifices which we had to make, but morally, by creating divisions greater than had previously existed. The blood of Maximilian created an abyss between Europe and Mexico. His death, though it may have been the only means, sad as it was, of securing internal peace, estranged the sympathies of those nations which then exercised preponderating influence in Europe." (*La Evolucion Mercantil por Pablo Macedo*, page 199.)

The above extract probably expresses correctly the prevalent feeling among the educated classes in the

past and in the present. And it is they alone who can exert political power; for though the franchise is universal, under the Constitution of 1857 and the electoral law of 1901, the vote is really cast by an electoral college, composed of one elector for each 500 inhabitants, and the members cannot be supposed to know the wishes of their constituents as distinctly as those who meet to vote for the President of this country.

Universal suffrage, therefore, in Mexico does not voice the popular will as distinctly as it does in this country; but from one motive or another there is an almost universal and reasonable dread of offending this country, under the belief that the consequences might be disagreeable and fall with lightning speed. For every citizen of the United States who enters the Republic for the transaction of business or to engage in industrial pursuits, through some indiscretion of his own or through some arbitrary act of an over-zealous Mexican official, may give rise to international complications. These risks are greater by far in a sparsely settled country like Mexico than in a land where the provincial government is thoroughly organized and under strict control of the central power; and it is difficult to maintain perfect order and to mete out perfect justice where the officials cannot possibly be men trained for their posts.

In this rapid influx of foreign capital, under foreign management, the Mexican sees therefore cause for anxiety which is in itself a source of danger; and it cannot be wondered at if their sensitiveness is in-

creased by the memory of the original Texas difficulty, and the fact that till recently the border population from the Atlantic to the Pacific, possessed of irresistible energy, found vent for it sometimes in eccentric enterprises which were not suggested by the State Department. Most wars have originated in trade disputes or commercial jealousy; and so ready are our frontiersmen to avenge any injury or insult that they have not waited for declarations of war before taking the law into their own hands. There have been instances even recently where armed bands have crossed the line to forcibly maintain what they conceived or at any rate claimed to be their rights. Besides which, there are people—presumably well intentioned—north of the line, who, comparing political conditions in their own country with those prevailing in Mexico, consider that interference in favor of their neighbours is a duty. They do not always weigh the difference in the habits and education of the voters, which this arbitrary boundary divides; and that truer liberty may coincide with limited rather than with unlimited franchise during a certain stage of a people's social and political development.

It must be admitted that life and property are safe in Mexico to an eminent degree, considering the difficulty of policing such a rugged country, inhabited by a scanty and scattered population. Foreigners have certainly had no reason to complain of ill-treatment, nor of such arbitrary methods being practised against them as it is deemed necessary to the public safety

whether, wisely or not, to inflict on natives who break or are suspected of breaking the law. The greatest reserve, therefore, in speech and action should, as a matter of courtesy, be maintained by those who enjoy the privilege and hospitality, so liberally extended to strangers and to their capital. Moreover, the resident from abroad in a foreign land, who imports, together with his capital and skill, his native prejudices and points of view, is often ill-fitted to be a just judge of the virtues and defects of the strange people and their stranger customs, into contact with which he is thus temporarily and seldom intimately thrown

JAMES DOUGLAS.

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THE INTERNATIONAL DUTY OF THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN



BY

EDWIN D. MEAD

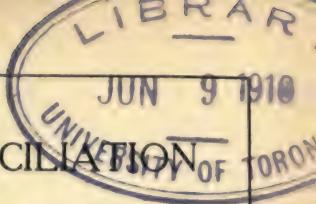
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The Executive Committee of the Association for International Conciliation wish to arouse the interest of the American people in the progress of the movement for promoting international peace and relations of comity and good fellowship between nations. To this end they print and circulate documents giving information as to the progress of these movements, in order that individual citizens, the newspaper press, and organizations of various kinds may have readily available accurate information on these subjects.

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THE INTERNATIONAL DUTY OF THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN

To those who are devoted to the cause of international progress, to the workers especially for fraternity and co-operation between England and the United States, there are few books in the library more pregnant than the two volumes which give the full reports of the two American Conferences on International Arbitration which were held at Washington in April, 1896, and January, 1904. These two Conferences, separated by an interval of eight years, were memorable gatherings, marked by profound feeling and clear and commanding purpose. They were called at critical times, they were attended by noteworthy bodies of the ablest thinkers of the country, and they culminated in significant resolutions, which should not be forgotten, but which leaders of opinion in both the United States and Great Britain should keep constantly before their respective peoples until they are realized in treaty and law. It is a main purpose of the present paper to recall attention to these memorable but too largely forgotten chapters of history, for the strong reinforcement which they furnish to the demand for a broader arbitration treaty between these two great nations at this time.

Some serious menace is often necessary to rouse men and nations to seriousness. Such a menace came in the United States with the sudden crisis in the Venezuela situation, in December, 1895. The possibility of strained relations, to say nothing of war, between the United States and Great Britain was something that most good Americans had long ceased to dream of; and the amount of jingo sentiment which certain words in President Cleveland's message

proved the occasion of calling into expression from selfish and reckless politicians at Washington and in many parts of the country was a shock. Thoughtful and earnest men everywhere realized the importance of such authoritative action as should make another such menacing situation impossible. In Chicago, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Washington, New Orleans, St. Paul, San Francisco and St. Louis, prominent and patriotic citizens came together and framed addresses to the people. The Chicago men said in their address, issued on the fifth of February, 1896: "Let the people of the United States make the coming birthday of George Washington even more glorious by inaugurating a movement for cementing all the English-speaking people of the world in peace and fraternal unity. Let the people of all cities and towns of the Union, at their meetings on that day, express their views, to be made known to both the President of the United States and the Queen of Great Britain, as to the establishment by the two Governments, by formal treaty, of arbitration as the method of concluding all differences which may fail of settlement by diplomacy between the two powers." The friends of arbitration in Philadelphia invited the men of other cities to join them in a convention at Philadelphia on Washington's Birthday. "The object of this Conference," they said, "is the advancement of the cause of international arbitration and especially, as a timely application of that principle, the creation of a permanent court of arbitration for the peaceful adjustment of difficulties which may arise between the United States and Great Britain. The time is evidently ripe for such a movement, in view of the recent crisis and of the strong popular expressions from leading Englishmen—including Mr. Gladstone, Lord Rosebery, the Bishop of Durham, Cardinal Vaughan and others—of friendship towards this country, and the desire to secure a settlement of future troubles between us by peaceful and reasonable methods, rather than by force. A frank and cordial response from our people

to these friendly overtures may at least pave the way for the establishment in practice of a great principle."

The Boston meeting resolved "that the time has come when a complete system of arbitration between the two nations should be matured." The citizens' meetings elsewhere declared themselves in similar strain. "The cause of humanity and the cause of conscience demand that the English-speaking peoples should settle their international differences without resort to the abitrament of the sword."

The resolution adopted in New York embodied the following: "Whereas, The United States and Great Britain, akin in language, jurisprudence, legal methods and essential love of right, are already accustomed to arbitrate their disagreements, and have emphatically declared themselves in favor of such arbitration—Congress by the action of both Houses in 1890, and the House of Commons by its vote in 1893—therefore, Resolved, That we earnestly desire such action by our National Legislature and the Executive, as shall make permanent provision for some wise method of arbitration between the two countries, it being our hope that such a step will ultimately lead to international arbitration throughout the civilized world."

The Philadelphia Conference was held on February 22, in Independence Hall, with eminent men in attendance from every part of the country. A letter was read from President Cleveland; and from the Anglo-American Arbitration Committee in London came the message: "Hearty greetings to our American kinsmen who are celebrating Washington's Birthday. We join with you in doing honor to your national hero, by advocating fraternal union, through a permanent court of arbitration, for the peaceful and honorable adjustment of all differences arising in the English-speaking family." This was signed by Bishop Westcott, Lord Playfair, Dean Farrar, Lady Henry Somerset, Mrs. Fawcett, Hugh Price Hughes, William R. Cremer, Dr. Clifford and Dr. Parker; and it was representative of many addresses sent to America at that time by the

leaders of English thought. On the preceding Christmas day an address from the men of letters in England—John Ruskin, John Morley, Walter Besant, William Watson, and a thousand more—to their brethren in America had been published in London, instinct with fraternity and high hope for the future achievements of the united Anglo-Saxon race. The resolutions adopted at Philadelphia declared: "That the common sense and Christian conviction of America and England agree that the time has come to abolish war between these two nations which are really one people," and urged both Governments to adopt a permanent system of judicial arbitration. The movement for an early general conference at Washington was earnestly supported; and the call for this Washington conference, signed by leading men of all the cities, was promptly issued. "In confining the present movement to the promotion of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain," it was stated in the call, "we are not unconcerned for the wider application of the principle involved. But, taking into consideration the importance and the value of practical results, it has seemed wise to concentrate our immediate efforts upon the attainment of a permanent system between the two great English-speaking peoples."

The Conference met at Washington on the afternoon of April 22, and continued until the evening of the next day. There were nearly 300 members, representing thirty-six states and one territory. The president was Hon. George F. Edmunds; and among the speakers were Hon. John W. Foster, Carl Schurz, Edward Atkinson, James B. Angell, John Bassett Moore, Merrill E. Gates, Charles Dudley Warner, J. Randolph Tucker, Bishop Keane, Cardinal Gibbons, President Eliot of Harvard University, and President Patton of Princeton. "We come here," said Mr. Edmunds, in his presidential address, "in order that we may deepen the channels and strengthen the mighty course of civilization, of religion and of

humanity, by doing what we may to aid our Government and, so far as influence and example will go, our kindred Government over the sea, to come to a footing of practical arbitration that shall stand as the permanent means of peace between us, and finally between all nations." He dwelt upon the pitiful spectacle, in a time of almost universal peace among civilized nations, of "more than two millions of men in the prime of their manhood and strength, capable of assisting in the progress of the world by all the labors and arts and inventions of civilization, kept constantly under arms, with more than a billion of money drawn annually from the toils and tears of the rest of mankind to support them in idleness." He emphasized the necessity of a public opinion which should be "as constant and as persistent as the law of gravitation" against this situation; and he prophesied that, with such a force of public opinion, the time would come within the lives of those present, when armies for aggressive purposes would be dissolved.

Carl Schurz, in a comprehensive and eloquent address, called upon the United States for brave leadership in the arbitration movement. It was a natural leader, owing to its peculiar position and strength, safely aloof from the feuds of the Old World, with no dangerous neighbors threatening its borders, and no need of vast armaments on land and sea to maintain its peace or protect its integrity.

"As an American citizen, I cannot contemplate this noble peace mission of my country without a thrill of pride; and I must confess that it touches me like an attack upon the dignity of this Republic when I hear Americans repudiate that peace mission upon the ground of supposed interests of the United States, requiring for their protection or furtherance preparation for warlike action and the incitement of a fighting spirit among our people. To judge from the utterances of some men having the public ear, we are constantly threatened by the evil designs of rival or secretly hostile powers that are eagerly watching every chance to humiliate us, to insult our flag, to balk our policies, to harass our commerce, putting us in imminent danger unless we stand with sword in hand in sleepless watch, and cover the seas with warships. What a poor idea those indulging in such

talk have of the true position of their country among the nations of the world!" He showed by powerful argument the absurdity of the idea of any power wishing a serious quarrel with the United States. A war in our days is not a mere matter of military skill, but of material resources and staying power, and ours are substantially inexhaustible. Had Great Britain wished a quarrel with us, President Cleveland's Venezuela message was a tempting opportunity; for its language might have been construed as a provocation, and everybody knew that we had but an insignificant navy and army and no coast defences. The public opinion of Europe was against us, too. But the action of the British government was sensible and friendly, and the American people had been given no reason "for giving up the inestimable blessing of not being burdened with large armaments, and for embarking upon a policy of warlike preparation and bellicose bluster!" Some otherwise honorable and sensible men have been found commending an occasional war to lift a people out of materialism and awaken the heroic spirit. "What a mocking delusion is this! Has not war always excited the spirit of reckless and unscrupulous speculation, always stimulated the dishonest accumulation of riches on one side, while spreading want and misery on the other? And to die on the battlefield is not the highest achievement of heroism. To live for a good cause honestly, earnestly, usefully, laboriously, is at least as noble and heroic as to die for it, and usually far more difficult. I have seen war. I have seen it with its glories and its horrors; with its noble emotions and its bestialities; and I say to you, I feel my blood tingle with indignation when I hear the flippant talk of war as if it were only a holiday pastime or a mere athletic sport." Mr. Schurz denounced as a wretched futility that so-called patriotism which does not realize our priceless privilege in being exempt from the oppressive burden of warlike preparations; which tauntingly asks other nations groaning under that load, "Why do you not disarm?" and then insists that the American people too shall put the incubus of a heavy armament on their backs, which would drag this Republic down from its high championship of peace among nations and degrade it to the vulgar level of the bully ready for a fight. "We hear much," he said, "of the necessity of an elaborate system of coast fortifications to protect our seaports from assault. I am confident that our strongest, most effective, most trustworthy and infinitely the cheapest coast defence will consist in Fort Justice, Fort Good Sense, Fort Self-respect, Fort Good Will, and, if international differences really do arise, Fort Arbitration." A permanent general court of arbitration to be composed of representative jurists of the principal states and to settle all international disputes that cannot be settled by ordinary diplomatic negotiations—in a word such a tribunal as that created three years later at the Hague—was, in Mr. Schurz's judgment, the ideal to be aimed at; and an arbitration treaty between the United States and Great Britain would be a great step in that direction. There were no questions which in their nature could not be submitted to arbitration. Similar doubts to

those which had been raised "had to be overcome at every step of the progress from the ancient wager of battle to the present organization of courts of justice. As to so-called questions of honor, it is time for modern civilization to leave behind it those mediæval notions, according to which personal honor found its best protection in the duelling pistol, and national honor could be vindicated only by slaughter and devastation. Moreover, was not the great Alabama case settled by arbitration, and does not this magnificent achievement form one of the most glorious pages of the common history of America and England? Truly the two nations that accomplished this need not be afraid of unadjustable questions of honor in the future."

I have quoted thus fully from Mr. Schurz's noteworthy address, because in its noble sentiment and close reasoning it was representative of a dozen speeches from which I shall not quote at length. It is well for us also to listen once again to the solemn warnings and exhortations, more needed to-day even than in 1896, of our great German-American citizen, who being dead yet speaketh.

Edward Atkinson gave a powerful address upon the Economics of War and Peace, and the greater necessities imposed by modern commerce for supplanting the war system of nations by a system of law and order; and he showed with what special force this is illustrated in the relations between England and the United States. "We are told that we must not deal with questions of national honor on the basis of dollars and cents. To which we reply, No, we will not. We may be trusted to defend the national honor, to maintain liberty, and to resist aggression as fully as the most blatant jingo who prates of national honor; but we will compute the cost of jingoism, of national dishonor, of aggression, wrong and violence, in dollars and cents, so that we may bring such men into contempt even by an appeal to the pockets of the people, if that be necessary." Another emphasized the noble record which Great Britain and the United States had already made in the movement to substitute arbitration for war, and the fact that the honor of nations has thus far sufficed to enforce all arbitral decisions, and is likely to prove always an adequate

sanction and authority. "Permanent tribunals for the administration of law," said another, "are dear to the Anglo-Saxon race and consonant with the political institutions of England and America, and will be found adapted to the settlement of international differences. The personality of a nation, like the personality of men, is fortified by bringing it under the sway of reason. Our proposal gives room for what Lincoln taught the world to respect—the sober second thought of the people. Instead of sudden and disastrous action upon the quick wave-impulses of passion, we propose a method for the calm, judicial consideration of the rights involved. If we are to welcome," he continued, "and not to dread the inevitable on-coming into the arena of world politics of those distant races innumerable in population, how important it is that we show them in advance that self-control, regard for justice, and reverence for law are as obligatory between nations as they are between persons." The ultimate condition to be worked for was well defined by one as "a commonwealth of nations, constituted like a commonwealth of men, under a common law, administered by recognized courts of justice and enforced by the unified authority of all." A great body of international rules has already emerged from centuries of debate. Great Britain and the United States agreed about those rules and should unite in leading the nations to express recognition of them as at least a nucleus of an international common law. The Supreme Court and Federal system of the United States blaze the pathway for international organization. Questions of boundary and the like between the states have been frequently decided conclusively by the Supreme Court, and submission to these judgments has always ensued. "How suggestive are these peaceful solutions of inter-state controversies in our Federal Union! If forty-five states can thus agree to be bound, why not all nations? Why not Great Britain and the United States—peoples of the same blood, of like institutions and religion?"

To this peculiar relation and obligation of the two English-speaking peoples, President Patton especially addressed himself, specifying the tendencies which point hopefully in the direction which we desire. The thoughts of men were never turned so generally as now to the science of human society; there is going on in an increasing ratio a moralization of society; there is an ever increasing complexity of commercial relationship between the nations of the world; and there is an increasing democratization of governments among the peoples. "Now tell me the nations in which these conditions are best realized. Are they not Great Britain and the United States? Are not these two nations those which best illustrate these four great conditions which we have laid down as essential to the realization of any scheme looking toward a peaceful settlement of international disputes? We do well, I think, to begin this new era of modern civilization by asking Great Britain and the United States to join hands in an effort to suppress war and to settle international disputes through a court of arbitration. If these two nations would agree in this thing and would then join hands in aggressive efforts to spread the kingdom of righteousness and peace, they would together control the moral forces of the world."

No one characterized more severely the crisis which had prompted the Conference than President Eliot. To thousands of sober-minded men in this and other countries, the Venezuela message of the President, the preceding papers of the Secretary of State which had since been made public, and the reckless talk of many men in Congress had been a surprise and a shock. During the last eight or ten years, indeed, we had heard from both political parties "the advocacy of a policy entirely new among us, absolutely repugnant to all American diplomatic doctrines, imported straight from the aristocratic and military nations of Europe—the doctrine called jingoism—a detestable word for a detestable thing. It is the most abject copy conceivable of a pernicious foreign idea; and yet

some of our public men endeavor to pass it off among our people as American patriotism. A more complete delusion, a falsel representation, cannot be imagined. The whole history of the American people runs directly counter to this notion. Can anything be more offensive to the sober-minded, industrious, laborious classes of American society than this chip-on-the-shoulder attitude, this language of the ruffian and the bully?" He closed with an earnest plea for such an education in the schools of America as should counteract this grave new mischief. "We want to have the children of this country, the young men who are rising up into places of authority and influence, taught what the true American doctrine of peace has been, what the true reliance of a great, strong, free nation should be—not on the force of arms, but on the force of righteousness. It is not by force of arms that we can best commend to the peoples of the earth the blessings of liberty and self-government. It is by example—by giving persuasive example of happiness and prosperity arrived at through living in freedom and at peace. I trust that in all our public schools these principles may be taught as the true American doctrine on this subject. It has been said here that we have been taught in our schools about the battles of the nation, but have not been taught about the arbitrations of our nation. Let us teach the children what is the rational, sober-minded, righteous mode of settling international difficulties. Let us teach them that war does not often settle disputes, while arbitration always does. Let us teach them that what is reasonable and righteous between man and man should be made reasonable and righteous between nation and nation."

These utterances reflect the spirit of this great Conference. The resolutions in which the proceedings culminated set forth the general principles which condemned war as a method for determining disputes between nations, which expressed the peculiarities of the people of Great Britain and the United States and their peculiar duties, and declared "that, in the judgment

of this Conference, religion, humanity and justice, as well as the material interests of civilized society, demand the immediate establishment between the United States and Great Britain of a permanent system of arbitration, and the earliest possible extension of such a system to embrace all civilized nations;" and urged our government to a treaty with the British government providing for the widest practicable application of the method of arbitration to international controversies.

Such was the memorable 1896 American Conference on International Arbitration. It is doubtful whether a more thoughtful or significant body of men ever met in conference in America. A list of the members and of the men in the committees formed in the various cities of the country in the interest of the conference would be a list of the leading and most representative citizens of the United States. The united and earnest voice of this great body was in behalf of a treaty between the governments of the United States and Great Britain referring to arbitration all differences arising between the two peoples which could not be settled by regular diplomatic negotiation. Both President Cleveland and Secretary Olney were deeply imbued with the justice and the practicability of the views advocated by the Conference; and the treaty signed at Washington, January 11, 1897, by Mr. Olney and Sir Julian Pauncefote, was precisely what the Conference resolution demanded. The National Arbitration Committee addressed a communication to a great number of the most intelligent and influential men, in every department of life, throughout the country, without reference to their supposed views on the subject of arbitration, asking their judgment of the treaty; and of 1002 replies, more than 930 expressed their preference for the treaty unamended, and only 12 expressed themselves as actually opposed to arbitration. The unfortunate circumstances by which the treaty as amended failed by a few votes to secure the two-thirds of the Senate requisite for its

ratification are too well remembered. The vote was 43 to 26—10 of these 26 votes representing sparsely settled western states with a combined population less than that of the city of Chicago. The expressions of public sentiment which followed were such as showed the overwhelming endorsement of the treaty by the intelligence and conscience of the American people.

It was eight years before the second American Conference on International Arbitration met in Washington, on January 12, 1904. In the interval much had happened. The Alaska boundary settlement had removed the most irritating and difficult question pending between ourselves and Great Britain. The Irish-American opposition, which had proved so unfortunate in 1897, had been largely eliminated by the adjustment of one of the great contentions between England and Ireland. The result of the arbitration of the Venezuela dispute had put an end to the frictions and suspicions there. The Hague Conference had been held, and the International Tribunal established, providing the machinery necessary and favorable for international arbitration. Finally, on the 14th of October, 1903, a treaty had been signed by Great Britain and France, by which the parties agreed to submit to the Hague Tribunal all differences not affecting the vital interests nor the independence or honor of the two countries. The leaders of the peace and arbitration movement in this country felt that the United States must not longer postpone a new effort for an arbitration treaty with Great Britain; and on December 4, 1903, the National Arbitration Committee issued its call for the meeting in Washington on January 12. Not so large a gathering as that of 1896, this second Conference brought together nearly two hundred of the leading international men of the country, many of them the same men who had taken part in the earlier Conference; and letters of endorsement came from five hundred more, and from many commercial and other bodies. Representatives of commercial bodies took a more prominent part in the Conference than in

1896; and organized labor found expression through an eloquent speech by Samuel Gompers and a letter from John Mitchell. Significant of the noteworthy advance since 1896 was the presence and word of Jackson H. Ralston, who had been the American agent in the Pius Fund case, the first case presented to the Hague Tribunal and settled by it. Significant also was the participation of Thomas Barclay of England, who had exerted a strong influence upon the commercial bodies of both England and France in promoting the new arbitration treaty between those countries. More significant still was the address of Richard Bartholdt, announcing the organization in our own Congress that week of a group of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, and the invitation to the Union to hold its annual convention that year in the United States.

At a great mass meeting at the Lafayette Theatre in the afternoon, concluding the Conference, and approving by unanimous and enthusiastic vote the resolutions of the Conference, the speakers were Cardinal Gibbons, General Miles, Rev. Edward Everett Hale, Rabbi Silverman, Hon. J. M. Dickinson, and Andrew Carnegie. More than once during the Conference had the practice in treaties of excepting questions of "honor" from arbitration found sharp condemnation. "What we have to do," said one, "is to build up a true sense of national honor. The only thing which constitutes national dishonor is the thing which involves national degradation; and if the true sense of honor be involved in a controversy, we who are the parties to such a controversy ought not to be ashamed to submit the question of honor to an international tribunal." "It is upon this very class of questions," said another, "that nations ought to seek the interposition of a sane third party; they are themselves probably least of all competent to pass judgment upon that point, and an impartial tribunal would enable them to get rid of the controversy." To this point Mr. Carnegie addressed himself in an eloquent passage

in his speech. "The most dishonored word in the English language," he said, "is honor. Fifty or sixty years ago honor would have required you to march as Hamilton did to meet Aaron Burr. To-day the gentleman belonging to the race that speaks the English tongue would be degraded if he fought a duel. Honor has changed. No man can be dishonored except by himself. So with nations. As long as the republic herself acts honorably she remains stainless. Who abolished the duel? Our own English-speaking race. Let us now take the next step forward and abolish international duels; let us have the nations' differences settled by the supreme court of humanity."

Perhaps the two most pregnant addresses of the day were those of Hon. John W. Foster, the president of the Conference, and Hon. George Gray, the chairman of the Committee on Resolutions. Mr. Foster discussed the claim that national honor and territorial questions are subjects which a nation should not arbitrate, from the standpoint of the actual history of Great Britain and the United States. By the treaties of 1794 and 1814 most important questions of territory and boundary between the two nations had been submitted to arbitration. The treaty of 1871 created the most important arbitration tribunal ever held between two nations, and the Alabama claims which it settled involved vital interests and national honor in the highest degree. "I need not enumerate," said Mr. Foster, "the remainder of the score and more of arbitration treaties which we have had with Great Britain to show that no question can in the future arise between the two nations which will more seriously involve the territorial integrity, the honor of the nation, its vital interests, or its independence, than those which have already been submitted to arbitration."

The words of Mr. Foster and other strong words spoken convinced the whole assembly that there was no good reason for such reservations as those made in the Anglo-French treaty; and the resolutions unanimously adopted "recommended to our government to

endeavor to enter into a treaty with Great Britain to submit to arbitration by the permanent court at The Hague, or, in default of such submission, by some tribunal specially constituted for the case, all differences which they may fail to adjust by diplomatic negotiation," and to "enter into treaties to the same effect, as soon as practicable, with other powers."

In reporting these brave and prophetic resolutions, Judge Gray,—himself, like Hon. Oscar S. Straus, one of his associates upon the committee, a member of the Hague Court,—appealed to the Conference and to the American people for the large view and resolute advance. "The fullness of the time has at length come when this great step forward in the civilization of the age should be taken and could be taken; and Great Britain and the United States are the two countries of all others that should be the example to the rest of the world in forwarding this great movement for the benefit of mankind."

During the year following this Washington Conference of January, 1904, Secretary Hay negotiated arbitration treaties with Great Britain and several other nations, essentially upon the lines of the Anglo-French treaty. These treaties the Senate did not ratify; and it was not until 1908 that treaties of substantially the same character, negotiated by Secretary Root with various nations, were ratified. Meantime it is to be feared that our people have for the most part forgotten these great Conferences of 1896 and 1904, which brought together the most important bodies of our American international thinkers ever assembled, and gave the most important expression ever given to the best international sentiment of the country, gave that expression unanimously in both Conferences, and in both gave it to the same effect,—that all differences between the United States and Great Britain which fail of adjustment by diplomatic negotiations be referred to arbitration, and that provision to the same effect be made as soon as possible with other nations. Our people cannot afford to

forget this memorable action, endorsed by the leading citizens and organizations of every character throughout the country. Their failure to remember it and to follow it up earnestly and persistently is failure to remember the warning closing words of Mr. Edmunds, the president of the first great Conference: "It is important to say that no great movement in the progress of the world has been accomplished by temporary or spasmodic emotions and efforts. The triumph of truth, the triumph of education, the triumph of peace, so far as it has gone, have been attained only by persistent endeavor." The two great Washington Conferences concerned themselves primarily, the first Conference almost exclusively, with the relations of England and America; but it was with confidence that any broad policy adopted by these two great nations would quickly be adopted by other nations. The spirit and purpose were exactly defined by President Cleveland in his message to the Senate, submitting the Olney-Pauncefote treaty:

"It is eminently fitting as well as fortunate that the attempt to accomplish results so beneficent should be initiated by kindred peoples, speaking the same tongue and joined together by all the ties of common traditions and common aspirations. The experiment of substituting civilized methods for brute force as the means of settling international questions of right will thus be tried under the happiest auspices. Its success ought not to be doubtful, and the fact that its ultimate ensuing benefits are not likely to be limited to the two countries immediately concerned should cause it to be promoted all the more eagerly. The examples set and the lessons furnished by the successful operation of this treaty are sure to be felt and taken to heart sooner or later by other nations, and will thus mark the beginning of a new epoch in civilization."

There is no need of multiplying general essays, as in the case with other nations, upon the natural and peculiar fraternity of England and America and the duty of keeping that fraternity strong and vital and putting it to high use for the world's good. The arguments, as Judge Gray said in submitting the resolutions to the 1904 Conference, are "old and hackneyed—hackneyed, however, only in the sense that they are often repeated, because they often spring from the

heart to the lips." The two Washington Conferences were themselves the natural outcome and expression of this sense of the peculiar bond between England and America. The men gathered on those great occasions were all believers in the universal scope and application of international arbitration; but all felt the peculiar duty and advantage of beginning with England, and beginning in a great and prophetic way—agreeing to refer to arbitration every difference which might arise, not settled by diplomacy, with no anxious or jealous reservations of territorial questions, or questions of "honor" and "vital interest." No interest would ever be so vital, no honor so great, as the appeal to reason and to law rather than to force and pride.

Those prophetic and memorable resolutions have not been realized; and there is to-day no other obligation so great upon the United States and Great Britain, if this peculiar fraternity which we are eloquent about is a vital thing, as to realize them, for our own good and the world's good. The failure and fault are not Great Britain's, but our own. Mr. Carnegie was entirely right in saying in his address at the 1904 Conference: "Great Britain longs for such a treaty as we propose to offer here." This, indeed, she had proved by her acceptance of the Olney-Pauncefote treaty in 1897. It is for us to go as far as she stands ready to go and fulfill the purpose of the vast majority of the Congress and people of the United States in 1897 and the unanimous declarations of our two great Washington Conferences.

It was rightly said at the last of these Conferences, both by Mr. Foster and Judge Gray, that the fulness of time had come for this great step forward; and the course of events in the five years since 1904 has made this the paramount demand to-day in the international movement. The advance of that movement in the last ten years has been something almost unparalleled in human history. The leaders of the movement are sometimes reproached with being dreamers. The only

trouble with them in the last ten years has been that they have not been able to dream daringly enough and fast enough to keep up with the events. If we had been told ten years ago that the world would see to-day an International Arbitration Tribunal, for almost the whole decade in successful operation, that it would see a regular International Court of Justice definitely provided for, that it would see a regularly meeting International Parliament or Congress of the Nations practically assured, and almost a hundred arbitration treaties between different nations already concluded, to say nothing of other achievements of the highest moment, the most hopeful and confident of us would not have believed it.

But there has been one trouble with these arbitration treaties, almost all of them. It is precisely the thing perceived and unanimously condemned by the sagacious and prophetic men of the two great Washington Conferences. The finical and foolish reservations in them about "vital interests" and questions of "honor" and the rest prove maelstroms mighty enough to engulf any number of ships,—oceans rather big enough to float any number of battleships for which the pride and ambition of any selfish and suspicious people choose to pay, regardless of the clear logic and the moral imperative of the Hague conventions. The logic of those conventions, it cannot be too often repeated, clearly prescribes the steady decrease of the machinery of the nations for the arbitrament of their differences by war commensurate with the present gradual and already so great increase of the machinery for their arbitrament by law. This is so manifest that only obvious and serious new dangers could excuse nations parties to the Hague conventions from the limitation and then mutual reduction of their armaments. Yet the immense lessening of danger and the immense strengthening of security to almost every nation in these years has been accompanied in almost every one by an immense increase instead of decrease of armaments. It seems a

paradox, and would be if this were entirely a world of rational and earnest men. But this is a world in which pride and ambition, self-seeking and adventurism make up a very large part of the compound. All manner of false patriotism, base politics, professional vanity, commercial greed and vested interests are bound up with the present showy and costly system of naval armaments especially; and every excuse and argument that can be used to prolong its life will be magnified and made the most of.

Now the territorial reservations and "vital interest" and "honor" reservations in the arbitration treaties give the ambitious big navy men in England and America and everywhere else just what they want. "The Hague tribunal is very well, but no nation is obliged to have recourse to it unless it obliges itself by arbitration treaty. The multiplying treaties of obligatory arbitration are all very well, but they make reservations of 'vital interests' and the rest, and it is for every nation to determine for itself in every case what its vital interests are. Hence the need for battleships remains just where it was before; and let us have more and more of them!" Their favorite contention that, the bigger and more numerous the battleships, the better the conditions for peace between two rival nations, finds rather confounding recent commentary in the Anglo-German rivalry, each added Dreadnought proving not a new bond or pledge of peace, but a new provocation and danger rather. But our big navy philosophers are not hunting for commentaries, but for appropriations.

The talk of these men, be it conceded, is largely hypocrisy; but that makes little practical difference. The governments in the main are serious, honest, faithful and peaceful, sure to construe their treaty obligations in a broad and honorable, not in a technical and petty way; and so far has the sense of international obligation now advanced, that any important conflict of interests arising between any two of the really important nations is practically certain of

adjustment, where specific provision for adjustment does not exist, by means mutually agreed upon in the exigency. The theory that this is still a world in which mere wantonness controls any great nation is a theory to be dismissed to the limbo of things which are no longer even "respectable nonsense."

But when all this is said, the actual circumstances, the prevalent arguments and their pernicious influence make it incumbent upon the nations, and especially incumbent upon the United States and Great Britain as leaders in the arbitration movement, to take decisive steps to remove the present mischief and firmly secure the advance of the last ten years. To develop our international law and courts, and still go on piling up our costly and menacing war machinery, as if the courts had not been called into existence to supplant the armies and the navies, is to accuse ourselves either of infidelity or gross incompetence.

Among the many arbitration treaties which have followed the Anglo-French treaty of 1903, with its unfortunate reservations, and mainly been based upon that treaty, three are nobly conspicuous as waiving all reservations and referring to arbitration every difference whatever not settled by diplomatic negotiation. These are the treaties concluded by Denmark with the Netherlands, Italy and Portugal. As far back as 1883 the Swiss Federal Council adopted the project of such a treaty between the United States and Switzerland; but—why I know not—our government failed to approve it. A noteworthy and salutary provision of the treaty between Sweden and Norway is that for submission to the decision of the Hague Tribunal the question of "honor" itself, in any case where it might be claimed that that point was involved. The integrity of national territory in any possible conflict received a notable new guarantee from the Berlin and St. Petersburg treaties of last year, affecting all the nations bordering on the North and Baltic Seas. There is little doubt that the United States could if it chose conclude arbitration treaties as comprehensive as the

three Danish treaties, with Brazil, whose constitution contains provisions concerning war so enlightened and advanced, and with other South American republics; and in this present auspicious period of Pan-American fraternity, a movement to this end should be inaugurated. It would mean much for this hemisphere. But much more for the world and the advance of international organization would mean the adoption by the United States and Great Britain of such a treaty, for which Great Britain in 1897 was ready, and which in the two great Washington Conferences was endorsed and demanded by the collective international sentiment of America.

So clear has it become that the adequate broadening of the scope of arbitration treaties is the imperative next step in the movement for international justice, that the International Peace Bureau at Berne has sent out a circular letter to all its members in the various countries urging concerted effort the present year, the tenth anniversary of the first Hague Conference, in behalf of treaties between all nations of the same form as the Denmark-Netherlands treaty. It is a wise and timely prompting. What nations can act upon it so easily and with such powerful effect as Great Britain and the United States? There exists for these nations one other transcendent opportunity and obligation. The Second Hague Conference adopted a plan for the establishment of a Court of Arbitral Justice, leaving to the nations the adjustment by mutual negotiation of the method of selecting the judges. Any two or more nations may unite to inaugurate such a court, leaving others to join at will. Secretary Root has had this great step peculiarly at heart. It is a step of cardinal moment. Why will not the United States and Great Britain take it together? Let them ask Germany to unite with them in it. These three chief of nations are now unhappily, in their unworthy naval excesses, chief disturbers of the world's tranquillity and confidence. Let them rise together to a nobler rôle through union for the advance of international justice and reason

The Bishop of Hereford, the most eminent English delegate to the International Peace Congress in Boston in 1904, has been saying in speeches in England since that the United States is itself the greatest peace society in the world, because it applies over a greater area and with greater power than anywhere else in the world the three great principles of federation, inter-state free trade, and an inter-state court, whose beneficent operations are all that we need to extend to international affairs to get precisely the organized world that we want. Let not the United States stand behind England in readiness to take the next imperative step demanded of the great peace powers. Immanuel Kant, in his immortal essay on "Eternal Peace," published just as this republic was born, identified the progress of disarmament and international peace with the progress of national self-government. Some powerful and enlightened republic, he said, making perpetual peace its policy, would furnish a centre of federative union for other states to attach themselves to; and such a union would extend wider and wider, securing coincidentally the conditions of liberty and of international justice among all states. Let the two great republics of the United States and Great Britain unite to fulfil the great prophecy. When Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman declared his highest ambition for England to be that she might place herself at the head of a movement to unite the leading world powers in a League of Peace, he was helping England do her part to fulfil it.

It was no accident by which Washington and Franklin and Jefferson, the illustrious founders of the American republic, were the conspicuous apostles in their time of a new era in which the world's hoary old war system should give way to the universal rule of reason and justice among nations. A hundred years before, the most prophetic and philosophic among all the founders of the early American commonwealths, the English-American, William Penn, had in England, in his "Plan for the Permanent Peace of Europe,"

published the first comprehensive and at the same time disinterested scheme in history for the federation of the nations. The last official act of Franklin in Europe, in 1785, was to sign in behalf of the new United States a treaty with Prussia guaranteeing the inviolability of the ocean commerce of the two nations in case of war between them. This provision was praised as warmly by Lord Shelburne in England as by George Washington in America; and England, which has held back too long from the position to which we are proud to say the United States has been faithful from Franklin's time to ours, will surely unite with us at the next Hague Conference in demanding the banishment of the most barbarous remaining usage in war. England and the United States, in removing all the garrisons and squadrons from the Canadian line and the Great Lakes ninety years ago, and leaving a frontier as unguarded as that between New York and Pennsylvania, the one frontier in the world upon which during the century perfect peace and order have prevailed, have united in first teaching the world on a large scale that nations are never so safe as when they act like gentlemen, and in thus pointing the way to disarmament. England and America have led the world in international arbitration. No other nations have submitted so many cases to arbitration; and in thus submitting the momentous "Alabama" claims, with almost every question of "vital interest" and "honor" rolled into a single case, they demonstrated once for all that there can be no conflict of interests so serious that it is not better settled in court than on the battle-field. Gladstone expressed the common sense and the true dignity of both nations alike when he said in the House of Commons in 1880, concerning the Geneva award: "Although I may think the sentence was harsh in its extent and unjust in its basis, I regard the fine imposed on this country as dust in the balance compared with the moral value of the example set when these two great nations of England and America, which are the most fiery and the most jealous in the world with

regard to anything that touches national honor, went in peace and concord before a judicial tribunal rather than resort to the arbitrament of the sword." No other two nations did so much for the establishment of the International Tribunal, at the first Hague Conference, as Great Britain and the United States. If the noble arbitration treaty of 1897, with which Lord Pauncefoot's name was identified, failed of ratification, his name will ever be identified with the more memorable international act of 1899; and no one coöperated with him more earnestly or influentially at The Hague than Andrew D. White. At the second Hague Conference, England and the United States were the chief champions of the cause of the limitation of armaments, to-day's paramount international issue; and together they will continue to champion it until its triumphs. "If the present effort fails," said Secretary Root on the eve of the Conference, "one more step will have been taken toward ultimate success. Long-continued and persistent effort is always necessary to bring mankind into conformity with great ideals; and a good fight bravely lost for a sound principle is always a victory."

Englishmen must never forget, as some of them sometimes seem tempted to do, that the United States is no longer simply New England, but also New Germany, New Ireland, New Italy, New France, New Russia, New Jerusalem. Millions of Germans, of Scandinavians, of men of every race and tradition, hold leading place in a score of our states and great cities. "Entangling alliances," so wisely condemned by Washington in his Farewell Address, are still more impossible for the United States to-day, with Great Britain or any other nation. But the great body of the American people do not forget their peculiar relation to England, in history, race and institutions, nor the peculiar opportunity which that relation creates for coöperation in behalf of international fraternity and the world's advance.

It was in the United States and England that the peace movement, as a definite and organized move-

ment, was born. The chairman of the permanent National Arbitration Committee created by the Washington Conference of 1896 was Hon. William E. Dodge. The New York meeting preliminary to that Conference had been held in his house; and he and the chairman of the Washington committee, both of whom died before the second Conference, were referred to in the report of that Conference as "the two citizens of the United States most prominent in the advocacy of international arbitration." It was David Low Dodge, the grandfather of William E. Dodge, who, in August, 1815, founded the New York Peace Society, the first Peace Society in the world. The Massachusetts Peace Society was founded by Worcester and Channing at Christmas the same year; and the next year the English Peace Society was founded—the first in Europe. From these American and English cradles the movement grew. International Peace Congresses were first proposed at a meeting of members of the American Peace Society in Boston, by Joseph Sturge of England. The first Congress was held in London in 1843; and the chief inspirers and organizers of the great Congresses which followed in Europe in the next few years were the American Elihu Burritt and the English Henry Richard. Of all the International Congresses which have followed, the largest was that in Boston in 1904, opened with the notable address by Secretary Hay; while the London Congress of last summer evoked the highest official recognition in the history of the movement, the King and Queen receiving a delegation from the Congress, and the Prime Minister giving the chief address at the banquet given by the Government itself. Never before were so many Americans present at a Peace Congress in Europe as at this London Congress; and never was there stronger united resolution that the cardinal international demands of the time—for the reduction of armaments, the inviolability of commerce, the use of the public money to promote peace, and the arbitration of every dispute between

nations not settled by diplomacy—should be speedily fulfilled.

It is for the United States to coöperate with Great Britain to ensure the last—and all else will follow. Upon the relations of the two countries themselves there is not a cloud. The clouds which once were there rose from false history and false education. President Eliot did not insist too warmly in Washington upon peace teaching in the schools. For a century our boys and girls were fed on such accounts of the American Revolution, in their school-books, as made them all haters of the very British name. Now they know well that in 1775, as in 1861 and always, there were two Englands, and that the best England—the England of Chatham, Burke and Fox, of Barre, Grafton and Conway—was all with us in our great struggle. Trevelyan tells the story of the struggle, at once England's struggle and ours, better than we have yet told it for ourselves. Samuel Plimsoll, by his citations to us a dozen years ago from a score of the best known and most popular English text-books, showed us that the boys and girls in the English schools get as plain teaching as our own about George the Third and Lord North, and that Washington and Franklin are their heroes, too; and Freeman, in Chicago, on Washington's birthday, makes his subject "George Washington, the Expander of England,"—expander of England because he enforced on England in a way taken to heart the costly but imperative lesson as to the necessity of just and generous dealing with her colonies in order to the growth and the very integrity of her empire. Our students inform themselves about our own American Commonwealth from the pages of Mr. Bryce, as we think English students will inform themselves about their own from the pages of Mr. Lowell. The long and inevitable period of irritation and alienation between the two great English-speaking peoples has forever passed, and the time foretold by Whittier has come,—

“When closer strand shall lean to strand,
Till meet, beneath saluting flags,
The eagle of our mountain-crag,
The lion of our Motherland!”

It means—and it is to hasten the efficiency and influence of it that Britain and America are called—a new age for Teutondom, for Christendom, for mankind,—

“The golden age of brotherhood
Unknown to other rivalries
Than of the mild humanities,
And gracious interchange of good.’

We celebrate this year the centenary of the birth of Tennyson, who gave to the great cause of the “federation of the world” and “universal law” its dearest and noblest verse. Just as its prophecy of “the parliament of man” finds its fulfilment at The Hague, we have celebrated the tercentenary of the birth of Milton. It was Tennyson who gave to Milton his noblest title, the “God-given organ-voice of England.” “What can war but endless war still breed?” was the question of the “organ-voice” to the “war-drum’s throb” of the seventeenth century, as it is still to ours. But the voice proclaims: “Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war,” with a fulness and assurance to-day impossible then; for the intervening years have been crowded with victories, none of them so renowned as those of the last decade. The “war-drum’s throb” is being drowned by “the organ-voice”; and the final and decisive victory is near. It is for the men who speak Milton’s speech and think Milton’s thoughts to unite in such action to-day as shall ensure the victory to-morrow

EDWIN D. MEAD

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OPENING ADDRESS AT THE LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION MAY 18, 1910



BY

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

President of Columbia University, President of the American
Association for International Conciliation

JUNE, 1910, No. 31

(Supplement)

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I. 6.

Through the courtesy of the Secretary of the Lake Mohonk Conference, it has been made possible for the American Association for International Conciliation to issue the Address of the Presiding Officer of the Congress at this time. As the publication lists of the Association had already been made, it is published as a supplement to the regular June number of the series.

FREDERICK P. KEPPEL,

June 1, 1910.

Secretary.

Opening Address of the Presiding Officer

AT THE

LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION

1910

No well-informed observer is likely to deny that the cause which this Conference is assembled to promote has made important progress during the past year. The several striking incidents which mark that progress—including, in particular, the identic circular note of Secretary Knox bearing date October 18, 1909, proposing the investment of the International Prize Court with the functions of a court of arbitral justice, and the hearty approval which the proposal has met; the public declaration of President Taft, made in New York on March 22, 1910, that there are no questions involving the honor or the interests of a civilized nation which it may not with propriety submit to judicial determination; the action of the Congress in making an appropriation for the Bureau of the Interparliamentary Union for the Promotion of International Arbitration, thus committing the United States Government officially to that admirable undertaking; and, finally, the forthcoming submission to the arbitral tribunal at The Hague of the century-old controversy between Great Britain and the United States as to the Newfoundland fisheries—all these will be fully recounted here in the course of our present meeting. To those who are impatient for the attainment of our ideal we can only say that progress toward it is steadily making and that the chief forces now at work in

the world, political, economic and ethical, are co-operating with us to bring about its attainment. To those who fear that we may make progress too fast and that some measure of national security will be sacrificed in pushing forward to establish international justice, we can only say that justice is itself the one real and continuing ground of security for both men and nations, and that heretofore in the history of mankind the devil has always been able to take care of his own cause without the necessary aid and comfort of the forces in the world that are aiming at the overthrow of the rule of any power but right.

The chief danger that we practical persons run in our endeavor to accomplish a practical end in a practical way against the opposition of the dreams and illusions of theorists who, groping as in a fog, assume that mankind must be forever ruled by brute force and cruelty and lust for power and for gain, is that we may fail to recognize that the cause of international justice rests upon and is part of a complete philosophy of life. It cannot be advocated or conceived as something that stands apart from and in no relation to our modes of thinking and acting, whether as individuals or as nations, in respect to all interests and to all problems. To some it may appear to make our task more difficult, to others it may seem to make it more easy, when we say that this task is nothing less than part and parcel of the moral education and regeneration of mankind. To suppose that men and women into whose intellectual and moral instruction and up-building have gone the glories of the world's philosophy and art and poetry and religion, into whose lives have been poured for two thousand years the precepts and the inspiration of the Christian religion, over whose daily conduct have been thrown since the days of Draco and of Solon the restraints of

law and of consideration for the rights and property of others—to suppose that these men and women, when gathered together in groups called nations, speaking a common language called a mother tongue and owing allegiance to a definite set of political institutions called a government, are, when matters of dispute and difficulty and doubt arise, to fly at each other's throats, to burn, to ravage, to kill, in the hope of somehow establishing thereby truth and right and justice, is to suppose the universe to be stood upon its apex, to suppose the onward sweep of human progress to be toward bestiality and bedlam, and to suppose the teachings of religion and of morals, the inspiration of poetry, of painting and of song, to be to the end that we may be made ready for new acts of valorous ferocity and carnage. Who, I pray you, are the dreamers, who are the theorists—those who appeal to the rule of justice or those who appeal to the rule of brute force?

Let us not be mistaken about all this. Men who are themselves preying upon the public interest from private station or from public office are not going to be the first to urge the cause of international justice. The men who cannot succeed in holding in check their own tempers, their own lusts and their own greed, are not going to cry out for the establishment of an international court of arbitration. We have set out in this undertaking—now perfectly certain of accomplishment at a date no longer remote—without the aid and comfort of those elements of the world's population. Moreover, we are not likely to gain much assistance from the cynical observer of his kind whose faith is not adequate to the entire observation of history and of men. His keen vision and quick wit see readily enough the bad and selfish side of public and of private life, and he contents himself with a jeer and

a sneer at those who propose to turn that life inside out.

Some of these elements are elements of indifference, some are elements of active opposition. To those who represent the element of indifference I cheerfully accord the most powerful place among the opponents and obstacles of our program. Those who are in active opposition need not detain us long. The assumptions which are their grotesque substitutes for argument and the fallacies which they hug to their several bosoms as illustrations of perfect logic, are too easily confuted to make them dangerous. Not many men have courage enough to go through the world shouting that war is a virtue and should be actively promoted by all moral and upright men. The few who do so live in a world of sentiment and false emotions; they do not know or face the real facts. It is to the everlasting glory and honor of the world's greatest soldiers in modern times that they have always put peace above war and that they have done their best, by ability and courage and skill, to bring to a prompt end the wars in which they found themselves engaged in order that the blessings of peace might once more be spread over the land. There is no one who so appreciates the significance of the judicial settlement of international differences as the brave soldier or sailor who, at his country's command, has done his best to settle those differences by display or exercise of force.

There is one other type of citizen who must be mentioned, because the type is numerous, influential and important. This is the type which holds the view that, of course, international arbitration is a thing greatly to be desired; of course, we must all hope for the day when that at present distant, impracticable and wholly praiseworthy ideal shall be reached; but that, until that day—which is prob-

ably to be the Greek Kalends—we must continue to tax our great modern industrial nations, struggling as they are under the burdens of popular education and of economic and social betterment, in order that death-dealing instrumentalities may be increased and multiplied and the several nations thereby protected from invasion and attack. This procedure, so the curious argument runs, is to hasten the coming of international arbitration and to promote it. Civilized men, it appears, are to be shot or starved into agreeing to arbitrate.

This point of view requires for adequate treatment, not the arguments of a logician, but the pencil of a Tenniel or the caustic wit of a Mr. Dooley. Look at the situation in the world to-day as this type of man presents it to us. Of course, the United States is a peaceful nation; of course, Great Britain is a peaceful nation; of course, Germany and France and Japan are peaceful nations; but therefore, because they propose to attack nobody they must so strengthen their defences, so multiply their navies and increase their armies that nobody can successfully attack them. Who, pray, is left to attack these peaceful and law-abiding nations if, as we are assured by everybody—both leaders of governments, the moulders of public opinion and the substantially unanimous press of the world—they do not propose to attack each other, unless it be an army of white bears from the newly-discovered North Pole or a procession of elephants and camelopards from the jungles of Central Africa? The gullibility of mankind was never more conclusively demonstrated than by the widespread acceptance of this huge joke, which, unlike most other jokes, has to be paid for at a literally stupendous price. Children must go untaught, sanitary inspection and regulation must go unprovided, better workingmen's dwellings must be postponed, provisions for recrea-

tion and enlightenment must be put off, conditions accompanying labor, poverty and old age must go indefinitely without amelioration, in order that in this twentieth century men and nations, who, looking in the glass, call themselves intelligent and practical, may support, maintain and propagate this stupendous joke! Either the whole world is being deluded by a witticism of cosmic proportions or some important persons are conspiring to tell an awful lie.

I am one of those who look for the simplest motives in explanation of action or of conduct. My impression is that somebody makes something by reason of the huge expenditures in preparation for war. Have you ever noticed that about the time that the appropriations for military purposes are under consideration in the Congress, in the House of Commons, in the Chamber of Deputies, or in the Reichstag, or just before such a time, hostilities are always on the point of breaking out in two or three parts of the world at once? Just at these times war prophets begin to see visions and to dream dreams, and the poor, gullible people rush off to their cyclone cellars and shout timorously to their representatives to vote at once and as much as possible in order that great ships and guns and forts may be built to protect them from their fears. We have done of late some helpful and illuminating legislative inquiry in this country. It might be worth while to have the same sort of ability that has so brilliantly exposed to our repelled and astonished gaze other forms of political chicanery and graft, make some measurement of the sincerity and disinterestedness of the lively type of patriotism which accompanies these military and naval debates the world over. Is the propelling motive for them to be found in economics or in psychology? My strong impression is that while both of those admirable sciences

are represented in the make-up of that propelling motive, economics is not always the less important of the two.

Patriotism is a noble and a lofty virtue, but it is worth while always to remember the sagacious observation of Dr. Johnson, which Boswell so faithfully reports. "Patriotism having become one of our topics," says Boswell, "Johnson suddenly uttered in a strong, determined tone, an apothegm at which many will start: 'Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel.'" "But let it be considered," continues Boswell, "that he did not mean a real and generous love of our country, but that pretended patriotism which so many in all ages and countries have made a cloak for self-interest."¹

What is needed is to leave off deluding ourselves with phrases, with shams and with false historical analogies and to look the facts as they are in the face. Not everything that we wish for will be accomplished at once or suddenly. Moral regeneration is an even slower and more difficult process than intellectual upbuilding; but custom and habit are powerful allies and the world's imagination is fast becoming accustomed to the judicial settlement of international differences. The Supreme Court of the United States, whose opinions are so often luminous with sound political philosophy, has declared that "the right to sue and defend in the courts is the alternative of force. In an organized society it is the right conservative of all other rights and lies at the foundation of orderly government. It is one of the highest and most essential privileges of citizenship and must be allowed by each State to the citizens of all other States to the precise extent that it is allowed to its own citizens."² In making this statement of fundamental principle, the

¹ Boswell's *Life of Johnson* (Oxford, 1906) I: 583.

² *United States Reports*, 207: 148.

Supreme Court had in mind the rights of individuals and the States which are bound together in our Union. But what is there in that statement of fundamental principle which may not logically, ethically and practically be applied to the rights of nations, great and small, bound together by treaties and interdependences of every kind into a great world commonwealth?

The harder we press our adversaries and critics on this point the less satisfactory do their answers become. To say that men have always, as a last resort, settled their differences and difficulties by force and that therefore they will always continue to do so, is simply silly. To say that a nation's honor must be defended by the blood of her citizens if need be, is quite meaningless, for such a nation, although profoundly right in its contention, might be defeated by superior force exerted on behalf of a wrong and unjust view. What becomes of national honor then? It would appear that a nation's honor can only be entrusted either to the operations of the established principles of justice or to a force so overwhelming that no adversary could stand against it. This is indeed the dilemma which confronts the civilized world today: either the judicial settlement of international differences must be accepted as a universal principle or the world must become a series of armed camps sucking up like a vampire, in vain and competitive expenditure, the very blood of the people's economic and political life. The one road leads to civilization, to international comity, to concord and to peace; the other leads back to barbarism, to discord, to contention and to war. Which will mankind choose as a permanent policy? From which vantage-point will appeal be made to the sober judgment of history? From that of justice or from that of armed force?

There are those, mostly philosophers of the closet sort, who could never be induced to expose themselves to the physical dangers of war, who pretend to believe that unless we have frequent and destructive wars the population of the world will not be held sufficiently in check, and that, sooner or later, the earth's spaces will be crowded by peaceful, but undesirable, persons for whose activities there is no adequate room. One may or may not be disposed to deal seriously with this contention; I am not so disposed.

There still remain those who fear that without conflict there will be no proper training-school for the sterner virtues of mankind and that courage, bravery and patriotism will atrophy unless exercised from time to time in war and conflict. A very interesting essay might be written on this topic and on the discipline and encouragement which the sterner virtues receive in the daily round of domestic, business and personal life as well as in the thousand and one acts of helpfulness and generosity and sacrifice by which the sweetest, as well as the strongest, characters in this world are made. It is hard to listen with patience to the rattling rhetoric of him who would trace back the sterner virtues to mere brute instincts and who would strive to hold them there. The teachings of religion and of morals have left quite untouched any man who can seriously suppose that without practice in the exercise of brute force there can be no strength.

One of the earliest questions recorded in history is the petulant query of Cain, "Am I my brother's keeper?" On the answer to this question all civilization depends. If man is not his brother's keeper, if he may slay and rob and ravage at will for his own advantage, whether that be personal or national, then civilization becomes quite impossible. It is vain to attempt to divert us by analogies drawn

from the past history of the race. Mankind has been climbing upward and neither standing on a level nor going down hill. Acts, policies and events which are easily explainable and in large part defensible in other days and under other conditions are neither explainable nor defensible now. The twentieth century cannot afford to receive its lessons in morals, whether personal or national, from the fifteenth or the sixteenth. We are our brothers' keepers and they are ours. The whole world has become a brotherhood of fellow-citizens. The barriers of language are slowly breaking down; wars of religion are almost unheard of; distance in space and time has been practically annihilated by steam and electricity; trade is as easy today between New York and Calcutta or between London and Hong Kong as it once was between two neighboring shops in the bazaars of Damascus on either side of the street called straight. What possible reason is there why the fundamental principles which civilization applies to the settlement of differences between individuals cannot now be applied to the settlement of differences between nations?

We may well take satisfaction in the contribution which our Government has made in recent years toward the progress of the movement for the judicial settlement of international differences. Hand in hand with these contributions there should go, however, the resultant refusal farther to increase and expand armaments on land and sea, and a more complete control over the provocative and annoying expressions of opinion in regard to other nations and other forms of government than our own.

Let me add a final word or two as to each of these matters. There is a broad distinction between proposals for disarmament and proposals for

the limitation of armaments. When a nation like the United States, holding the views which its people profess and which its government constantly voices, has, as it now has, a navy and the nucleus of an army entirely adequate for purposes of defence, a stop should be put to the farther increase of armaments. It is urged in opposition that no nation can afford to take this step alone and that until an international agreement for the limitation of armaments is arrived at, each great nation must press forward, at whatever cost, to multiply the provisions for its armed forces. However plausible this argument may be when addressed to a European nation, it fails entirely when addressed to the United States. If the best way to resume was to resume—and we learned by experience that it was—then the best way to limit armaments is to limit them. In this policy the United States has not only nothing to lose, but everything to gain, by leading the way. It is no small satisfaction to point out that increasing support for this view is to be found in the public opinion of the country, reflected both in the debates and votes in the Congress as well as in the more influential portion of the newspaper press.

There remains the matter of what may be called petulant and teasing criticism on the platform and in the press of the acts and policies of nations other than our own. A good many nations and peoples have, in the history of the world, assumed for themselves an attitude of superiority toward their fellows, and have shaped their beliefs and their practices accordingly. It will not be generally thought, I fancy, that the historic results of this course of conduct have been either fortunate or happy. The fair, as well as the wise, method to pursue in criticism and comment upon happenings elsewhere is

to assume an intelligent purpose, a good will, and a lofty motive on the part of the foreigner, until the contrary is definitely proven. An attitude of international disdain is not becoming to statesmen, to journalists, or to private citizens. The history of civilization might be written in terms of man's progress from fear to faith. As he has ceased to fear his neighbors and as he has come to have trust in them, he has been able to build up institutions that have lasted. Just as the individual has substituted faith in his fellow man for fear of him, so nations may well divest themselves of fear in favor of faith in the other nations of the world.

The United States has done so much to educate world opinion in the past century and a half that we may well be ambitious for it to do still more. We have shown that to all appearances a federal form of government, extended over a wide area and embracing many competing and sometimes conflicting interests, is practicable, and that it can survive even the severe shock of civil war. We have shown that under the guidance of a written Constitution, judicially interpreted, there is room for national growth and expansion, for stupendous economic development, for absorption into the body politic of large numbers of foreign born, and for the preservation of civil liberty over a considerable period of time. Suppose now that during the next few decades it might be given to us to lead the way in demonstrating to the world that great sovereign nations, like federated states, may live and grow and do business together in harmony and unity, without strife or armed conflict, through the habit of submitting to judicial determination all questions of difference as they may arise, the judicial decree when made to be supported and enforced—after the fashion in which judicial decrees are

everywhere supported and enforced—by intelligent public opinion and by an international and neutral police. Might we not then be justified in believing that the place of our beloved country in history was secure?

What more splendid foundation could there be upon which to build an enduring monument to the American people than their guarantee and preservation of civil liberty together with national development at home, and their leadership in establishing the world's peace together with international development all around the globe? Dare we leave anything undone to put our own land in the place of highest honor by reason of its contribution to the establishment of the world's peace and order and happiness through the rule of justice—a rule accepted because it is just and bowed down to because it is right? What picture of glory and of honor has the advocate of brute force to offer us in exchange for this?

The great movement in which we are engaged is all part and parcel of a new way of life. It means that we must enter with fulness of appreciation into the activities and interests of peoples other than ourselves; that we must always and everywhere emulate the best they have to teach us and shun the worst; that we must answer in no uncertain tones that we are our brothers' keepers; and that, as with men so with nations, the path of justice, of integrity and of fair dealing is the true path of honor. Let us see to it that we Americans tread steadily in it.

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER.

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AN ECONOMIC VIEW OF WAR AND ARBITRATION

(An Address before the Sixteenth Annual Lake Mohonk Conference)



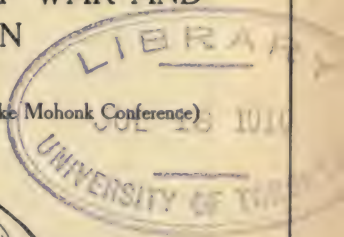
BY

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JULY, 1910, No. 32

American Association for International Conciliation
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I. 6

The Executive Committee of the Association for International Conciliation wish to arouse the interest of the American people in the progress of the movement for promoting international peace and relations of comity and good fellowship between nations. To this end they print and circulate documents giving information as to the progress of these movements, in order that individual citizens, the newspaper press, and organizations of various kinds may have readily available accurate information on these subjects.

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AN ECONOMIC VIEW OF WAR AND ARBITRATION

It is a significant fact that the revered idealist whose presence we shall never cease to miss at this conference, Dr. Edward Everett Hale, introduced the first motion which secured the coöperation of commercial bodies in the work which the conference is doing. The great idealist appealed to a very mundane force. Clearly things economic and things moral are less widely separated than we sometimes think. If peace did nothing but add to the comforts which men enjoy, it would be an urgent duty to work for it. By so doing we should feed the hungry, clothe the naked and in so far win benedictions. What I wish to emphasize this morning is that physical comfort is far from being all that is gained by avoiding the expense entailed by war. Economic waste has moral effects; they are among its worst effects, and a right use of resources now wasted works brilliantly even in the moral sphere.

Unnecessary poverty menaces the character of the modern state, and relieving it does, in an indirect way, a work of collective character building. Moneys wasted may be counted, and the immediate expenses which warfare and the preparation for it entail on a government may be clearly perceived, and so can the ravages of armies. The pensions that American generosity, combined with a system of vote buying by political parties, entails after a war is over are calculable. The losses incurred by a check on production are entirely apparent, though they can be less accu-

rately measured. Besides such effects as these are others comparatively unseen but real and far reaching. There is a bad general working of the productive organism. There are struggles of classes entailing bitter enmities and rendering fainter the hope of human brotherhood. Through and through the appeal to reduce such evils by reducing the economic waste that causes them runs a ringing moral imperative. The wastes we may speak of in terms of dollars and cents, but their effects must be described in terms of moral character, individual and collective. The commands of the Decalogue and the principles of the Sermon on the Mount are authority for the economic reforms, and we are in a moral and spiritual realm when we work for them. We are seeking for spiritual gains which are certain to result from spiked guns and active courts of international justice.

As far as the costs of warfare are concerned the figures are marshalled in tracts that are abundant and accessible. Some of them are effectively presented in a tract by Dr. Trueblood and in the battleship circular of the New York Peace Society. Fifteen billions of lives destroyed within the historic period by a process that selects the more vigorous for destruction and the weaker for survival. Who can measure that effect? Forty billions of dollars expended and as much more lost by checks on production; three billions of dollars spent in our own country for pensions and two more still to be spent as a result of wars now past; two hundred millions annually spent on army and navy by a country that has, within the hemisphere where it is located, no neighbor capable of endangering it; debts that rest crushingly on many a land and are counted

by billions of dollars:—such figures, as quickly cited, make no adequate impression on the mind, but if pondered at leisure, reveal the dimensions of an evil which it would not seem possible that civilization should knowingly tolerate.

The most effective mode of partially grasping the effects of such expenditures is to consider what might otherwise be done with the wasted resources. What would happen if we had 100 per cent. of the national revenue instead of 28 per cent. available to meet non-military needs? Where would our country be in point of well-being if we could restore forests, irrigate dry plains, create water powers, and cross and recross the land with water-ways for heavy traffic? Where would it be if we could stamp out tuberculosis, hookworm, cancer and rabies, and put an end to the introduction and spread of plagues, and where if we could teach useful arts freely to all who need such instruction? Even this, however, does not measure the benefits of avoiding military expenditure. The effects of it would extend to still remoter spheres; and my single purpose to-day is to point out, in the briefest way, some of these still less immediate but even finer effects.

The whole social order is now under a grave indictment and the number of those is growing who believe that there is only one thing to be done with it, namely to overthrow it altogether. This opinion is based on the fact of hardships that exist and of wrongs that exist in part. If we really thought, as do socialists, that labor is robbed by employers, that the robbery results from a fundamental law of society and that it becomes worse and worse as society works out more and more perfectly its own nature, we should be cer-

tain to join some party of very radical reform. Great is the relief from discovering that such robbery as exists comes by a perversion of the social order and is not a natural feature of its operation; and even greater is the relief that comes from knowing that the perversion can be largely removed. A belief in the practicability of social reforms makes the difference between a friend and an opponent of the social order. There is, however, no blinking the fact that the needed reforms will be difficult and costly, and it is in this connection that the inconceivable vastness of the figures that describe military expenditure is in point. What could be done that would have ultimate moral effects if we had not such demands to meet? Of course we could reduce taxes, beginning with the worst variety. The mere abolition of taxes which select working men for their victims would do great good. Taxing the poor man's bread, his clothes, his house and his modest comforts is an unnecessary evil, and removing it would take not a little bitterness out of class struggles. Monopoly is a fact of most sinister possibilities political and ethical, and it is possible to remove it without interfering with production. The contentions through which wages are now adjusted — the strikes and "lock outs" that characterize our crude system of dividing the returns of industry — are not necessary features of modern life. It is practicable to improve communication, cheapen the operation of carrying persons and goods, and so remove many a grievance. It is feasible to conserve natural resources, and to extend the process so as to make it include that finer conservation which has to do with human resources. We can prevent waste and develop pro-

ductive energy in man himself, and so remove a handicap under which many a man labors. Technical education has as yet been carried but a few steps along the way over which it must ultimately go. No general provision for the unemployed is now attempted and the relief of the aged and the disabled is very far from being satisfactorily done. The relief of congested populations is a process that is in its infancy. In the conquering of disease, the prolonging of life and the increasing of its vigor only the minutest beginnings have been made. Economic study shows that, with all its faults, the industrial world is at bottom a good one and that its fundamental tendencies are upward : but it does not blink its faults, and it puts in the strongest light the necessity for removing them. Coming generations demand that we hand over to them a social system in which life will be a joy rather than a burden, and in which it shall be free from grave enmities and moral blights.

A full enumeration of possible reforms would carry the conviction first that they are pressing, and, secondly, that they require great resources. Humanity cannot spare any of those resources that can be made available. Very ill can it spare what now goes towards instrumentalities of destruction. We need this for doing what contributes to internal harmony and gives a moral tone to the population.

We reach here the great paradox of the situation. Revolutionists are all for *international* peace. They are numerous, well organized and insistent in their demands. They make no secret of their underlying motive. They are affiliated the world over and are carrying on a common struggle against the capitalist

classes of the world. They want no break in their own ranks and no diversions from their main purposes—the radical transformation of society. Shall we join them in their demands for outward peace? Will not this play into their hands in the internal struggle? Will not this buy peace in one sphere at the cost of war in another? If we do nothing to ameliorate the industrial order it certainly will have this effect; but if we throw ourselves body and soul into the effort to make that order what it should be, just as certainly it will not. To a government which stands stiffly on the side of wealth and privilege what the radical classes offer is peace abroad and contention at home. For a government that works for the people there is no such hard alternative. To it peace abroad means peace at home also. The removal of genuine evils takes away the root of strife, and even the earnest effort to do this takes away the deepest root of enmity. A state that saves resources that it may use them for self improvement has the capacity for every gain that a revolutionist can intelligently promise. It can point to delectable mountains in the future.

What we are offered, then, is not the alternative between war abroad and war at home, but the choice between reform at home and revolution here. The improvements, to be effective, must be thorough and, to be that, they must have command of great resources. Both the growing evils that incite to revolutionary attempts, and the menace of the attempts themselves, call imperiously for a stopping of the wastes which the statistics show are so inconceivably vast. Some strife will go on in spite of us; but we can make it harmless. Socialism will continue and grow, but it

will carry no menace for human freedom or human comfort if the justifiable demands of the people are met. Very inspiring is the outlook that is afforded by the adoption of such a course. The determined effort to relieve distress, and establish justice, will restore the friendliness that once subsisted between employers and employed. Socialism abounds in brilliant promises, and would try to make the world an Eden in point of comfort and fraternity; but it has to overthrow the present order when it makes the experiment. Meanwhile the capacity of the present order for improvement has not been demonstrated, and the demonstration cannot be satisfactorily made without a husbanding of the means it will require. Not for one moment should we tolerate an extensive wasting of them. The ship we are sailing in is leaky and some tell us it must soon sink and urge us to take to a raft. If the leaks are left alone we shall have to do it. Our carpenters report that the timbers of the ship are sound, and our clear course is to cork the leaks and to save every foot pound of strength and every bit of material that will be useful for that purpose.

Permanent internal peace demands reformatory measures and these demand the saving of resources now wasted. That demands a reduction of military outlays and that, finally, is conditional on what? One thing only; and it is the one thing for which at every meeting of this conference at which he was present, Dr. Edward Everett Hale raised his eloquent voice, "A permanent tribunal of international justice." That is the one condition of disarmament and the logic of the whole situation calls for seizing the strategic moment to work for it. The justice which such a

court would deal out between nation and nation would carry with it the possibility of peace *within* the several countries, because it would make it possible to provide the means for doing the works of peace. Its effects would extend to the outward dealings of class with class and of man with man and even into the heart of man himself, where enmities are now growing. Broad and deep beyond computation will be the effects of the court's action. Aroused already are our people to the need of internal peace and fraternity, but they need to realize the connection between those ends and the international tribunal. The chain of influences from the high court to the life and heart of man is clear and complete. In the ameliorating work we must do at home, in the liberating of resources for it, in the securing of the court that will effect the liberation, there is need of every one's influence, and here as truly as on any literal battlefield America expects every man to do his duty.

JOHN BATES CLARK

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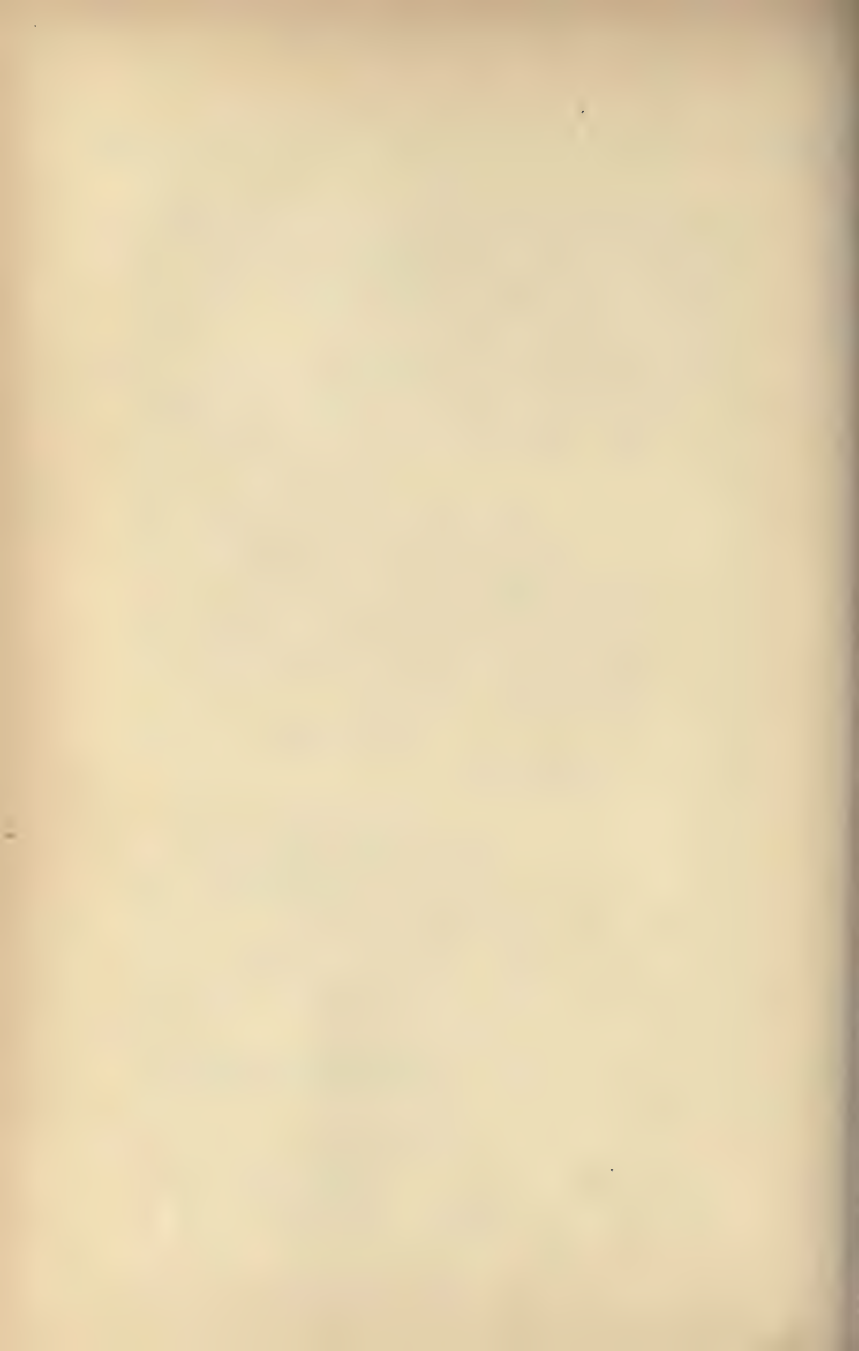
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PEACE *VERSUS* WAR: THE PRESIDENT'S SOLUTION

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BY

ANDREW CARNEGIE

AUGUST, 1910, No. 33

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The Executive Committee of the Association for International Conciliation wish to arouse the interest of the American people in the progress of the movement for promoting international peace and relations of comity and good fellowship between nations. To this end they print and circulate documents giving information as to the progress of these movements, in order that individual citizens, the newspaper press, and organizations of various kinds may have readily available accurate information on these subjects.

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PEACE *VERSUS* WAR: THE PRESIDENT'S SOLUTION

Long and earnestly have the teachers of men sought relief from international war, which has drawn from the most illustrious such fierce denunciation as no other crime has evoked—perhaps not all the other national crimes combined. Surely no civilized community in our day can resist the conclusion that the killing of man by man as a means of settling international disputes is the foulest blot upon human society and the greatest curse of human life, and that as long as men continue thus to kill one another they have slight claim to rank as civilized, since in this respect they remain savages. The crime of war is inherent: it awards victory not to the nation which is right but to that which is strong.

In man's triumphant upward march he has outgrown many savage habits. He no longer eats his fellows, or buys and sells them, or sacrifices prisoners of war, or puts vanquished garrisons to the sword, or confiscates private property, poisons wells, or sacks cities. No more

. . . the flesh'd soldier, rough and hard at heart,
In liberty of bloody hand shall range
With conscience wide as hell.

All these changes in the rules of war have been made from time to time as our race rose from the savage state toward civilization. They are chiefly the good fruits of the last century, for even Wellington sacked cities.

If all civilized people now regard these former atrocities of war as disgraceful to humanity, how long will it be before their successors will regard the root of these barbarities, war itself, as unworthy of uncivilized men, and discard it? We are marching fast to that day through the reign of law under which civilized people are compelled to live. No citizen of a civilized nation is permitted to-day to wage war against his fellow-citizen or to redress his own wrongs, real or fancied. Even if insulted, he can legally use force only sufficient to protect himself; then the law steps in, and administers punishment to the aggressor based upon evidence. Hence, if a citizen attempts to sit as judge in his own case or to redress his wrongs in case of dispute with another, he breaks the law. Now, nations being only aggregations of individuals, why should they be permitted to wage war against other nations, when, if all were classed as citizens of one nation, they would be denied this right of war and would have to subject themselves to the reign of law? Not long can this continue and commend itself to the judgment of intelligent men. Consider our own Republic, with an area little smaller than that of Europe, within whose wide borders war is impossible, every citizen being honorably bound to keep the peace and submit to the courts of law, which alone administer judgment in cases of dispute, and contrast it with Europe, an armed camp—armed not against distant foreign enemies upon other continents, but against itself.

Under present rules of war, there are in Europe as many public centers of war as there are nations

on that Continent. We have forty-six nations called States, yet there is not one center of war. Resort to force would be rebellion. This unity, which insures freedom from danger of internal war and free exchange of products, is fast making our Union the foremost power of the world. Our wealth already exceeds that of any other nation, our population is exceeded only by that of Russia or China or India; our manufactures exceed in value \$17,000,000,000, said to exceed those of Great Britain and Germany combined. At the present rate of increase, our population, and hence our military strength, will soon equal that of both. The last census (1900) gave over 16,000,000 males of militia age.

In considering the problem, let it be noted that it is no longer actual war itself which the world in our day has most to dread. This is not our greatest curse. It is the "ever-present danger of war" which hangs over the world like a pall and which we have to dispel. Men are now born and die, their country's peace unbroken, but in scarcely a year of their lives is it not endangered, and not a day can pass which is not disturbed by the fearful note of "preparation for war" throughout the world, which some writers still venture to recommend even in editorial columns as the best preventive of war. On the contrary, preparation by one nation compels rival preparation by others, each honestly protesting that only protection, not attack, is desired, the inevitable result being, however, that mutual suspicion is aroused, and as each vies with the other in fearful preparation, national hatreds develop, and only a spark is then needed to kindle the torch of

war. Partial disarmament would make the difference between two quarreling neighbors, each having only two pistols instead of three, the danger of war between them remaining as great as before.

It is not what bearings a question at issue between nations may have upon the countries of the respective disputants which is of first importance in determining the result of peace or war; it is in what spirit friendly, or unfriendly, negotiations are entered upon. Disputes that would be easily settled between friendly nations become the basis of war when international jealousies exist. An illustration of this vital truth is the incident upon the Dogger Bank, which recently excited Great Britain and Russia. It was promptly settled; but if the parties had been Great Britain and Germany, it would in all probability have led to war, so readily does rival preparation provide the inflammable material upon which war feeds. The insuperable objection to "preparation" by the first nation is that it inevitably leads to the building of competing armaments by powers which otherwise would not have increased them, thus spreading the area of war, and making more nations possible enemies. Hence the most prolific mother of war in our day is "preparation," as "territorial aggrandizement" has been until recently.

There is one important feature of our time which has to be most carefully considered—every ruler, statesman, and ambassador of every country repeatedly protests that their armaments are for protection only; that their country seeks not territorial additions, that its first and last desire is peace as the greatest blessing. In all this they are beyond question sincere.

Among civilized lands to-day there are not good peaceable members and bad warlike members; all really desire peace and their armaments are intended to be protective instruments only. Why then is peace not secured? The answer is that the leaders of nations at their respective capitals are strangers to each other and communicate only through ambassadors; they do not trust each other; each suspects sinister designs in the other, and, fearful of offending public opinion so easily excited upon international issues, they hesitate to adopt broad peaceful measures of common justice, or to agree to arbitration which might decide against their country. Under present world conditions, if the makers of treaties knew and trusted each other, war would soon become obsolete, for it is an indubitable fact that the reign of peace would be most advantageous for all nations. To every nation war would be a calamity. Let us rid ourselves of thinking that there are good nations who abhor war and bad nations who lie in wait for an opportunity to attack the weak. In our day the peaceful development of nations is their most profitable policy. Assuming that all civilized nations long for peace, if one or more of the chief powers were to approach the others in the proper spirit, a league of peace would seem highly probable.

The world, once so unknown, with ports so distant, has now shrunk into a neighborhood, in constant and instantaneous communication, international exchanges reaching the enormous sum of \$28,000,000,000 per year. It stands to reason, therefore, that under these changed conditions no one or two nations should be

permitted to disturb the world's peace, in which other nations have a common interest and upon which they are more or less dependent. Nations are partners to-day in this world-business, and have a right to be consulted in all matters pertaining to the world's peace. They are rapidly becoming interdependent, and international courts must of necessity soon be established. We have the germ of these already in the world marine court recently agreed upon in London by the delegates of the eight naval powers, Austria-Hungary, Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Japan, Italy, and the United States. This tribunal, composed of one judge from each land, is to pass final judgment upon all questions within its sphere. It is this pioneer of other world courts to come which our Secretary of State, Mr. Knox, has wisely suggested should become an arbitral court, empowered to consider all disputes referred to them by the nations. If the powers agree to his admirable suggestion, which stamps him as a statesman, the world will soon have an international court composed of the foremost of the world's jurists, ready to pass judgment upon any international dispute that may be submitted. Thus the world does move steadily toward peace and brotherhood.

Peaceful arbitration has so far been the chief agent of progress toward the reign of peace and can be credited with having already settled nearly six hundred international disputes. Secretary Root has broken all records by negotiating twenty-four of these settlements, and for this and other important services he deserves high place among the workers for interna-

tional peace. Such treaties are not to be judged solely by their provisions. These to which we have referred are limited to certain subjects, exclusive of others, but the average citizen knows little of treaty contents, and hence the mere fact that his country has agreed with another to settle some issues peacefully inspires friendly feelings which may some day count for much. Again, statesmen, knowing that their respective countries have agreed to settle some kinds of disputes peaceably, are predisposed to follow that mode for the settlement of others; therefore all treaties, whatever their limitations, make for peace. But arbitration of international disputes has so far encountered a serious obstacle: nations have been and still are indisposed to submit *all* disputes to arbitration. Although Belgium and Holland, Chile and the Argentine, Norway and Sweden, have done so, one or more exceptions are always made by the chief nations, and these are fatal to the one indispensable change required—the removal of the *danger of war*, without which nothing *vital* is gained.

Many devoted disciples of peace were seriously studying this feature of the problem when the solution came unexpectedly in a flash of inspiration from no less a ruler than President Taft, that revealed the true path to the realization of peace on earth. Here is the inspired deliverance before the *Peace and Arbitration Society* in New York on the 22d of March, 1910, which we believe will remain memorable for untold ages, and give the author rank among the immortals as one of the foremost benefactors of his race:

Personally I do not see any more reason why matters of national honor should not be referred to a court of arbitration than matters of property or of national proprietorship. I know that is going further than most men are willing to go, but I do not see why questions of honor may not be submitted to a tribunal composed of men of honor who understand questions of national honor, to abide by their decision, as well as any other question of difference arising between nations.

In these few words President Taft becomes the leader of the holy crusade against man killing man in war, as Lincoln became the leader in the crusade against the selling of man by man. Much to the dismay of mere party politicians, Lincoln went to the root of the curse of slavery, declaring that a nation could not endure permanently half slave and half free. Our leader of to-day declares it the duty of nations to refer to a court of honor all questions thought to affect their honor, as well as any other questions arising between them. Thus nations cannot sit as judges in their own causes, for this would violate the first principles of natural justice, as is shown by the fact that in our day a judge known to have sat in judgment in a cause in which he was even in the smallest degree personally interested, would die in infamy. So will nations sink into infamy which insist much longer upon trampling under foot this benign rule of law. Courts of honor such as suggested by the President are coming rapidly into favor in countries which still tolerate the duel. The German Emperor especially is reputed to have done much to introduce these and hence to restrict dueling.

It is quite true that the President, as he says, "goes further than most men are willing to go"; otherwise he would not be a leader; for a leader's place is in the front. But—and this is another characteristic of the truly great leader—he goes no further than is absolutely necessary. Had he exempted any one subject, even "honor," from arbitration,—although no nation can dishonor another nation, and no man dishonor another man, all honor's wounds being self-inflicted,—he would have failed to bridge the chasm *between peace and the danger of war*, and little would have been gained. Armaments would continue to swell as at present, increasing suspicion, jealousy, and hatred between the powers until war broke forth as the natural result of "mutual preparation," which from its very nature creates what it so vainly hopes to prevent.

When the final step is taken and the representatives of the nations assemble to organize the International Court, to which they agree to submit all disputes, it may be assumed that they will specify as a fundamental principle that the independence of nations and their existing territorial rights shall be recognized and upheld as an integral part of the organization. Hence no disputes could arise affecting either of these subjects. Thus would be eliminated the chief source of serious disputes, those affecting the honor or vital interests of nations.

Let all friends of peace hail President Taft as our leader, rejoicing that he has found the true solution of the problem and placed our country in the van in the holy crusade for international peace, an honor to

which it is fairly entitled as the foremost exponent and upholder of the rights of man, or, as the poet Burns put it in Revolutionary days,

Columbia's offspring, brave and free,
Ye know and dare proclaim
The royalty of man.

Well do the intelligent masses of Europe and of our Southern republics know and appreciate the mission of this Republic in drawing all ranks and classes together in the bonds of brotherhood. Her representatives will not lack support in these lands nor in Canada when they urge that all international disputes shall be arbitrated that the world's peace may remain unbroken.

ANDREW CARNEGIE

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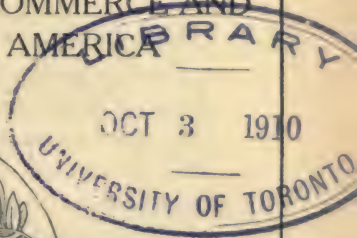
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CONCILIATION THROUGH COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY IN SOUTH AMERICA



BY

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The Executive Committee of the Association for International Conciliation wish to arouse the interest of the American people in the progress of the movement for promoting international peace and relations of comity and good fellowship between nations. To this end they print and circulate documents giving information as to the progress of these movements, in order that individual citizens, the newspaper press, and organizations of various kinds may have readily available accurate information on these subjects.

For the information of those who are not familiar with the work of the Association for International Conciliation, a list of its publications will be found on page 13.

CONCILIATION THROUGH COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY IN SOUTH AMERICA

The international commerce of South America today exceeds \$1,500,000,000 annually. The most of this is foreign commerce as distinguished from inter-South American commerce, or trade between the different countries of the southern continent. Both, however, make for conciliation in adjusting differences that arise among the different Republics. Commercial peace means international peace.

A review of the political and diplomatic relations of the various republics of South America shows that they have worked out vexatious disputes and controversies fully as satisfactorily as have European nations. The legacy which all South America received from the Spanish and Portuguese colonial eras was one of the undetermined boundaries which were often indefinable. The doctrine of *uti possidetis* was interpreted by every South American country as seemed best to conserve its own interests. "To hold and possess" often meant only constructive occupation of unknown territory. "Wherever in possession" meant in possession of the fringe of vast stretches of land. There are sections of the interior of this great continent which yet appear on world maps as unknown, though recent explorations have served to give some general knowledge of them. This knowledge, however, is not exact enough to enable all questions of undefined boundaries to be settled offhand.

The great river systems, the Amazon and the Plate, still tap territory whose economic value is better understood than its geographical extension. It is not unnatural, therefore, that the countries whose interests are affected should make the broadest claims for themselves and should seek to secure their full proportion of the commerce of the future by making these claims. The historic fact is, however, that assertions of paper rights regarding the bounds and limits of commerce have caused few of the wars that have taken place among the South American republics. This commerce, while in one sense a provocation to war, or what would be considered a provocation by a European nation given to trade, has more often proved a means of conciliation. Fortunately, questions of limits do not usually merge into questions of national honor and the most high-strung people can reach a means of determining such issues peaceably.

The record of boundary disputes in South America which have been settled by arbitration is a long one. In every case it has been noted that the development of domestic industry and neighborhood and foreign commerce follows such settlement. The ebullitions and effervescence of an excitable people when a dispute arises or when an arbitral decision is given adverse to their claim, have not proven to be the deliberate act of responsible governments. It will be found that in the majority of cases the various governments, while not able to check immediately these exhibitions of popular sentiment, or popular bad temper, have been able to divert them into harmless channels while they have proceeded with dignified negotiations and a real sense of their responsibility.

Rumors of wars in Latin American countries get sensational headlines in the newspapers; no thought is given to the failure of the rumors to be verified. The facts of industrial progress and commercial advancement are not sensational; no excitement is caused by them and they pass unnoticed, yet all the time they are doing their beneficent work in promoting peace.

Latin Americans' fondness for abstractions has frequently caused results to be overlooked. Often comprehensive declarations of adhesion to the theoretic principles of arbitration have been made without having been put into effect, but when the practical principle involved in trade and industry was clearly at stake usually it has proved a means of conciliation.

Argentina's \$700,000,000 foreign commerce today makes strongly for peace. The world at large cannot well afford to have Argentina's wheat lands and pastures interfered with. Food is becoming too precious. The enormous sums of European capital, especially British capital, invested in the Argentine railways are a potent argument for maintaining peace in so far as the countries neighboring to the Argentine Republic are concerned.

Adjustment of the boundry between Argentina and Chile in 1898 was one of the most effective means of securing South American tranquillity at a critical period and back of the agencies which secured tranquillity was the legitimate influence of capital invested in commerce. European investments in Chile and Argentina were too great to permit those two progressive nations to go to war. The sequel of that friendly adjustment has just been realized. So long

as the boundaries were unsettled and there was mutual jealousy, neither country was anxious to pierce the natural barrier which the Andes mountain wall forms between them. After this settlement was made the enterprise that had been merely an aspiration for half a century was undertaken seriously. The result is the trans-Andine tunnel which has recently been opened. It joins Buenos Aires with Valparaiso by a through railway line. The inter-commerce of the two countries was a leading consideration in building this railway tunnel which means so much for their future friendly relations. It gave the basis on which the Chilean Government could guarantee capital for an enterprise that would develop trade and industry and that had therefore a practical as well as a sentimental side.

Another instance of the value of commerce as an instrument of conciliation was the settlement by Brazil and Bolivia of the controversy over the Acre rubber territory. Both countries, under the decrees of the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns in the colonial era, laid claim to this region of which so little was known and both sides could support their claims by historical references. While the dispute was pending there could be no exploitation of the resources of the territory although the world was demanding the rubber which was there. Brazil and Bolivia, by the Treaty of Petropolis, settled this question without even resorting to the arbitration of a third party. Under it Bolivia accepted an indemnity of \$10,000,000 for the district she claimed. This indemnity was to be applied to railway construction. Brazil, on her part, undertook to build a railroad around the Madeira Falls which

would offer an Atlantic outlet and inlet to the commerce of a large section of Bolivia. This enterprise, the importance of which has been fully recognized for half a century by students of South American economics and resources, had been attempted several times by private interests and had met with failure owing to the enormous difficulties. It was the proper project of a progressive government.

The \$10,000,000 which Bolivia obtained was cash capital which also added vastly to her credit. Instead of borrowing money with which to buy war material there was actual money to spend on railway material. With it the construction of the railway systems which are so important to her internal development was begun and is now going forward to the very great benefit of the trade and industry of the country. Brazil, on her part, is scrupulously complying with the obligation to build the railway around the Madeira Falls and in another two years this great work of civilization will be completed. Its influence on the commercial future of a vast region is incalculable. In the meantime the rubber from the Acre territory is helping to supply the world's demand for this commodity.

Free navigation of the great rivers of the South American continent is essential to the full commercial development of all the contiguous countries, but for nearly a century friction between adjoining nations and unfounded fears of foreign control interfered with this development.

The negotiations of the United States and the various European countries in regard to the Amazon are familiar chapters in the international controversies

over the rights of free navigation of rivers. The sound doctrine was laid down in a circular of the Peruvian Foreign Office as far back as 1853. In this circular the aspiration was for the adoption of a commercial policy which "should reconcile the interests of the world with the interests and rights of the nations in possession." The commercial policy was recognized as the basis of conciliation, or reconciliation, between estranged nations. The interests of the world in these river regions of South America have grown immensely because of their present and prospective commerce, and yet it has been found possible to reconcile them with the interests and rights of the nations in possession, although all questions have not been formally settled.

More acute has been the question of reconciling the interests and rights of the nations which disputed possession among themselves. Although complete free navigation of the branches and tributaries of the Amazon may not yet be fully admitted, the neighboring countries are rapidly reconciling their differences in the interest of a common commerce. The latest illustration of this spirit of conciliation is the boundary treaty of September, 1909, between Brazil and Peru, relative to the commerce and navigation of the Amazon basin. The agreement means more commerce for both countries

Among the recent instances of the reconciliation of the claims of adjoining countries through recognition of the commerce involved is the treaty between the Argentine Republic and Uruguay. Article 3 of this treaty provides "that the navigation and use of the waters of the river Plate will continue without altera-

tion as up to the present date, and whatever differences may arise in this connection will be removed and resolved in the same spirit of cordiality and harmony which has always existed between the two countries." Uruguay with its thriving port of Montevideo controls one bank of the Plate. The commerce that flows past it to Buenos Aires and other Argentine ports and back from them is too great and too important to civilization for it to be at the mercy of warlike settlement. Here again the conciliation of two distinct national interests is through commerce.

The recent treaty between Brazil and Uruguay is also important to commerce and industry. Brazil, in order to exploit the vast resources of her great interior states of Matto Grosso and Goyaz needs free transit up the Plate and its tributaries. Friendly political relations are the corollary of friendly commercial relations.

These are a few of the many instances that might be given which show how the reciprocal commercial conditions in the South American countries are advanced by peaceful settlement of their boundary and other disputes. The interest of Europe with its huge investments of capital and its enjoyment of the larger proportion of the South American commerce requires mention. These investments now approximate \$3,500,000,000. A vast and swelling volume of trade depends on them. They are a peace fund.

The United States has a special relation independent of the Monroe Doctrine which heretofore has been interpreted without regard to trade. Its commerce with South America is approximating \$300,000,000 annually. This is not large, as compared with Europe, but the commerce is a growing

one and this growth is dependent on the maintenance of inter-South American peace. North American capitalists are interested in South American mines and to some extent in railways, and the establishment of the Pan-American bank which will help the expansion of commerce is not so remote. The United States is pledged to the encouragement of the Pan-American Railway both as a measure of national and international or intercontinental policy. This project in the gradual linking up of different sections and countries is a powerful promoter of the inter-South American commerce. It is a material force that becomes a moral agency, probably the greatest single agency now at work.

Identity of interest between the United States and the South American countries is greater than ever before. Our commercial policy is conciliatory and whatever tends to increase the commerce is an additional means of conciliation. It is also a reason for judging the prospects of the various South American countries by their peaceful progress rather than by confusing rumors of war among them, especially since so few of these rumors are ever translated into actual hostilities.

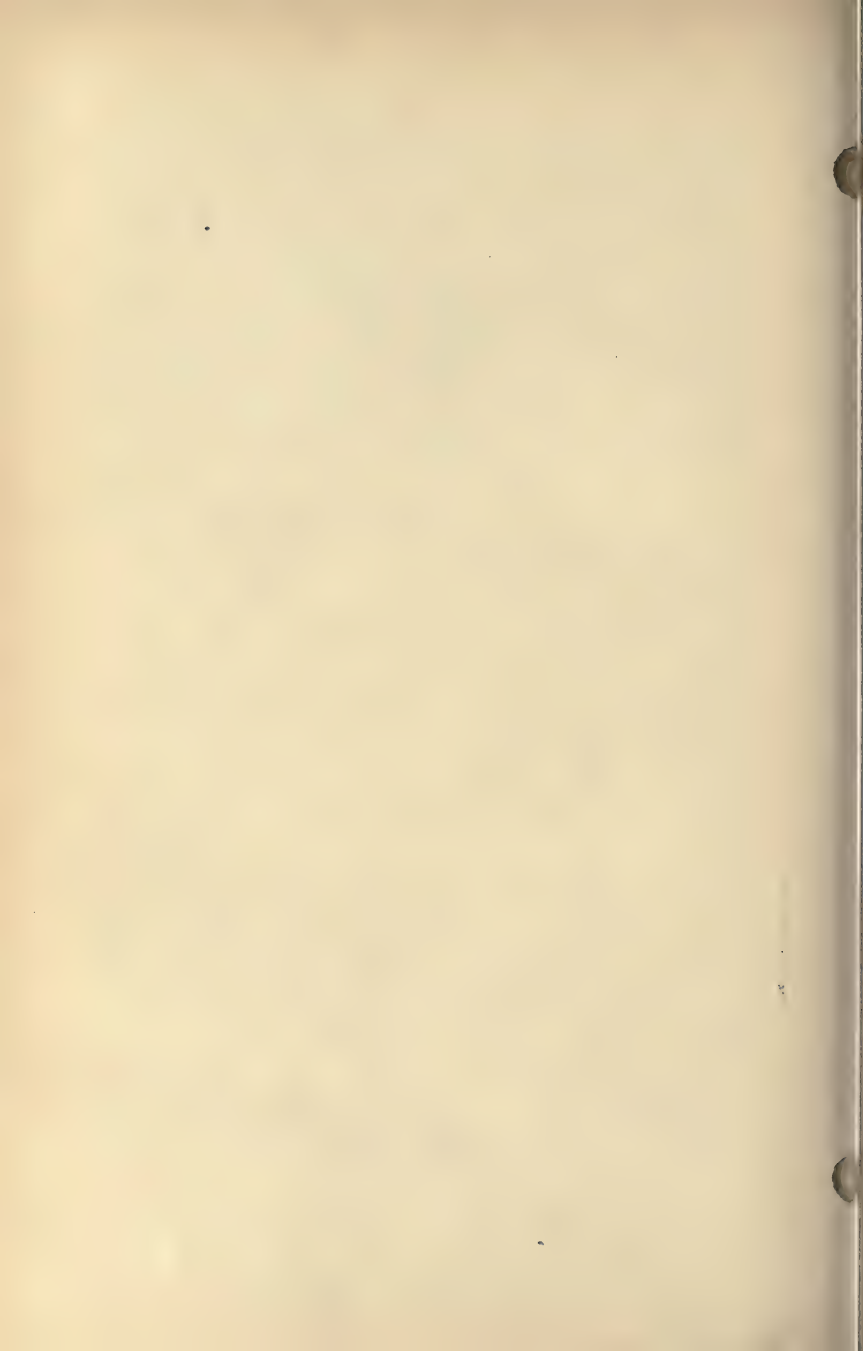
Commerce with the South American countries is also an educating force. Knowledge of their political institutions, of their administrative systems, of their economic resources, of the government measures to develop these resources, is essential to whoever would profit by the opportunities that are offered in one of the most inviting fields for international trade that exists. Such knowledge gives an insight into the South American viewpoint and consequently modifies

the North American viewpoint which is so often prejudiced and so generally ignorant when applied to Latin American affairs.

These considerations are commercial, but not mercenary. They justify the prominence given in the program of the Pan-American Conference at Buenos Aires to commercial statistics, conservation of natural resources, the Pan-American Railway, steamship communication, sanitary regulations, monetary standards and similar subjects. To promote commerce with South America is to promote peace in South America.

CHARLES M. PEPPER

Washington, August 20, 1910



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A Collection of Papers Upon Various Topics

BY

Rt. Rev. L. H. Roots, Rev. Dr. J. H. De Forest, Prof. E. D. Burton,
Rev. Dr. Gilbert Reid, and Hon. John W. Foster

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The Executive Committee of the Association for International Conciliation wish to arouse the interest of the American people in the progress of the movement for promoting international peace and relations of comity and good fellowship between nations. To this end they print and circulate documents giving information as to the progress of these movements, in order that individual citizens, the newspaper press, and organizations of various kinds may have readily available accurate information on these subjects.

For the information of those who are not familiar with the work of the Association for International Conciliation, a list of its publications will be found on page 32.

THE OUTLOOK FOR CHINA

BEING NOTES FROM A LECTURE DELIVERED IN HANKOW, DECEMBER, 1909,
BY THE RT. REV. L. H. ROOTS, D.D.

THE greatness of China's past and the magnitude of her present proportions in population, territory, and every natural resource, make the question of China's future one of absorbing and vital interest to the whole world. In considering the outlook for China I will touch upon four aspects of the national life—Education, Government, Commerce and Industry, and Foreign Relations—endeavoring to point out how the past and the present lead us to estimate the outlook for the future.

EDUCATION.—Right education is the fountain of true national greatness. China's age-long and profound respect for education is probably the most characteristic fact in her long history. It is embodied in the immemorial classification of Chinese society into scholars, farmers, artisans, and merchants, the scholar invariably standing at the top in popular regard and in actual influence. For more than twelve hundred years the civil officials, who invariably outrank the military officials, have been chosen from those who have passed most exacting competitive examinations. Until the year 1900 these examinations dealt almost exclusively with literary subjects, but since that date there has been an increasing infusion of modern subjects, and in the year 1905 the ancient system of the literary examinations was abolished by Imperial Decree, and a system modeled largely upon the Western lines followed in Japan and Germany was undertaken throughout the Empire. The ideals of the proposed system of education are, in theory at least, sound. It is proposed that the education should be modern, that is to say, embodying the best experience and knowledge of our time; and also universal, that is to say, giving opportunity for all classes to receive the benefits of this modern education. The difficulties of realizing this splendid ideal, which has been adopted with characteristic enthusiasm by the Chinese people, are, in the first place, the scarcity of able teachers and educational administrators, and, in the second place, even in those who are really competent, the usual absence of an honest and altruistic spirit, without which worthy educational ideals can never be realized.

GOVERNMENT.—Almost as striking as the respect for education in China is the proof which her long history affords of Chinese capacity for government. The spectacle of this vast Empire, governed by a political system which fixes with much definiteness and yet with great elasticity the official and social status of every member of the great state, even down to the individual members of every family, is matched only by the still more striking fact that this political system has continued through practically all of China's history without any fundamental alteration of the principles of government which underlie it. With all her rebellions and changes of dynasty China has never yet had a rebellion or a change of dynasty based upon the desire to establish new principles of government. These facts establish the claim of the Chinese people to a foremost place among the races of the earth who have natural aptitude for government. With this wonderful record in the past, however, the rulers of China have repeatedly and with increasing definiteness decreed their intention of changing their ancient system of government in the essential point of introducing a constitution, the legitimate outcome of which is desired to be a democracy similar to that of the great Governments of the West and of Japan. The old distinction between Manchu and Chinese has been in principle abandoned; and the Government is to be impartial, treating Chinese and Manchu alike, while the essential

point of a democratic government is secured by the introduction of elective methods and local, provincial, and national assemblies which will doubtless include in time the due differentiation of legislative, judicial, and executive functions. It remains to be seen whether this reformation in governmental theory and practice can be accomplished peacefully. The lack of political leaders, men worthy to be called statesmen, is the most conspicuous deficiency of the Chinese Government at the present time, yet no one who is acquainted with the history of China can doubt that there is material in China out of which such statesmen could be made. The chief difficulty in the present and prospective Government of China is that of corruption and selfishness, which have for generations been conspicuous in the land, and which no change of political methods, or even principles, alone can eradicate.

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY.—In spite of the low esteem in which the merchant is held as compared with the scholar in China, the commercial ability displayed by the Chinese people within the bounds of their wide dominion is of no mean order, yet Chinese commercial and industrial ability is even more conspicuous in foreign countries than in China itself. The Chinese hold their own not only in Hongkong, Manila, and the Straits Settlements, which are near their own borders, but in the Hawaiian Islands, the United States, and Great Britain, side by side, and in no way inferior to, the ablest races of the earth. Given good government and modern education in China itself, the commerce and industry of the land would soon assume the vast proportions which they have assumed in other countries, bringing to the Chinese that wealth and influence and freedom from the scourges of famine and pestilence which have accompanied commercial and industrial development in the rest of the world. Yet even in this department of the national life we must recognize the fact that the greatest difficulty of the present time is the lack of really honest and public-spirited men of ability. This difficulty is perhaps less conspicuous in the business world of China than it is in the fields of government and education, since the integrity of Chinese merchants is so widely recognized and the benevolent impulses of men of wealth in China are so evident whenever national or local calamities bring widespread poverty and distress. Yet for the organization of business enterprise on the scale demanded by modern conditions there can be no question that honesty and public spirit must reach a pitch of thoroughgoing control not only among a few men of ability, but in the great mass of the people, which they have not hitherto attained in China.

FOREIGN RELATIONS.—Unquestionably the most important considerations affecting the future of China, as of any other nation, lie along the lines of internal development such as those above suggested. China could support herself without dependence upon any other foreign source of supply as easily as any other nation, if not more easily. At the same time the foreign relations of this great nation have assumed an importance out of proportion to the natural capacity of the country to depend upon itself, owing to the inevitable pressure brought to bear upon China by other nations, on account of their considerable moral and enormous material development during the last century. China has been standing still in these respects rather than retaining her former position of comparatively great enlightenment and progress in the human family at large. It has therefore come to pass that in many respects the most sensitive and vital spot in the life of the Chinese at the present time is to be found in their foreign relations. The subject is extremely complex and full of difficulty. Passion and prejudice lie very near the surface with many foreigners, as well as with most Chinese, when this subject has to be dealt with. It behooves every lover of

China to consider this subject with the utmost seriousness and openmindedness; and to see that, so far as he is able to bring it about, temperate views and correct information on this vital subject are spread abroad.

The policy of China in her foreign relations may be considered as tending to produce isolation, or hatred, or good-will. Until the present century the traditional attitude of China toward foreign Governments was that of isolation. The Chinese would treat with no foreign country except as tributary to its own powerful Government. She had not learned how to treat any foreign nation as an equal, and the very idea of a "family of nations" was not understood, even when this phrase was known, among the statesmen of the Celestial Empire. The time when this policy of isolation could be successfully pursued has now passed, and it is reasonably safe to say that it can never return. For China, as well as every other nation in the world, the policy of isolation has become impossible. The policy of hatred, on the other hand, is one which we must consider as commanding the serious support of very many of China's ablest men. The wrongs, real or imaginary, which China has suffered at the hands of foreign nations, are cherished and dwelt upon as the inevitable result of having any dealings with the powerful barbarians of foreign countries, and too often the surest proof of patriotism is supposed to be intense hatred of foreigners. But this policy of hatred must certainly lead to disaster. The nations of the earth are related to one another at the present time somewhat as the twenty-one Provinces of China are related to one another. Each nation may possess a considerable amount of independence, but not only is isolation impossible, we may go on to say that if any nation deliberately fosters hatred of the other members of the family of nations, it is bound to suffer the inevitable loss of commercial as well as moral and intellectual strength. This would follow as certainly as such loss would fall upon any Province of China, should it set itself up in bitter hatred against the other twenty Provinces. But not only is the policy of hatred a disastrous policy, it is thoroughly wrong in principle, since it is based upon the profound falsehood that a nation as such, or a race as such, may be indiscriminately condemned as despicable and worthy of hate, whereas the fact is that although there are bad men in every nation and every race, yet there are also good men in every nation and every race, and it is not only the good men who are the truest representatives of their race or nation, but as a rule the good men are those who possess the power; for whenever the bad men of a nation come into power that nation begins to decay and its power for either good or evil is soon reduced to comparatively small proportions.

Just as surely as the policy of isolation is impossible, and the policy of hatred is disastrous and wrong, so surely is the policy of good-will the only policy which will lead to permanent prosperity, and which can be justified as essentially right. Mutual friendliness and helpfulness are the bonds which unite and upbuild nations. Each year adds proof to the principle that free and honorable intercourse between nations in their commerce and in every other aspect of the national life is mutually profitable. But the supreme reason for advocating the policy of good-will is not that it is profitable, although that is a good reason, but that it is right, being based upon the profound truth that the good men of all nations, especially as they advance in civilization, are large-minded, generous, and ready to help each other. The policy of good-will tends to unite the good men of all nations in the common effort to suppress or keep out of power the bad men of all nations. The worst enemies of any nation are its own bad men, and if hatred were ever justifiable it should be directed toward the bad men of one's own country. But hatred and bitterness are not justifiable, and they tend to pull down and destroy, whereas the supreme need of our time is

for constructive work which shall develop the latent resources of the nation. In order to secure the adoption of such a policy of good-will it will be necessary to develop and put into positions of influence men of ability and public spirit who will understand and carry out this policy with discrimination and energy, and with an eye single to the welfare of their country.

The foregoing survey has endeavored to point out the marvelously rich natural resources of China, and the sterling qualities of her people, which fit them to occupy a place of honor and great influence among the nations of the earth. The raw material of China, so to speak, is all that could be desired, being manifestly equal to the best in the world. The great defect is that the material is unformed and undeveloped. The supreme need in every department of the nation's life is for men of ability and public spirit. Men, rather than measures—men, rather than riches; men, in fact, without whom riches and organization and reformed laws, though never so great and perfectly planned, are but dust and ashes; men whose ability can develop wealth, men whose patriotism and public spirit no bribes of name or money can corrupt. The outlook for China depends on the quality of the Chinese men who in public and private life are allowed to mold the life of the people. Are the right kind of leaders to be had, talented and altruistic men? If so, will they be given a chance to serve their country?

There are many prophets of evil, but I cannot agree with them. I am full of hope for the future of China. Able and unselfish leaders can be found, and they will be allowed to lead. In the schools of China, and in the schools of other lands whither Chinese students have gone, all those who know the situation bear witness to both the talents and the generous impulses of Chinese youth. President Eliot told me that the Chinese students at Harvard were practically without exception a credit to their country; and similar reports come from other universities. The most serious question, however, is not that of native ability, but of integrity and public spirit. Will these talented youth give up selfish ambition, lust of wealth and power, and devote themselves wholeheartedly to the service of their fellow-countrymen? Doubtless many of them will not do this; but I cannot doubt that some of them, indeed many of them, will not be disobedient to the heavenly vision which calls them to a life of self-forgetful toil for others. One indication of such responsiveness is to be found in the fact that some of the very best and most talented students, to whom all the prizes of wealth and honor in commercial and official life are open, are offering themselves for the Ministry of the Christian Church. And the most hopeful feature for the whole situation is that in the Colleges of China, among the future leaders of the nation, the power of the love of Christ, which is the chief factor in the wonderful development of the West, is moving those who will be not only pastors and preachers, but the scholars and administrators and business men to fashion their lives after the example of Him who came not to be ministered unto, but to minister.

Given such men, the future of China is secure. They will not strive nor cry, nor engage in noisy clamor and useless or foolish revolt against the constituted authorities. Quietly and unobtrusively, if necessary, but with the intelligent, unswerving purpose and devotion which are the sure way to the accomplishment of great ends, they will win the confidence of their countrymen and become the lights of the world in their generation. Some of them will have to suffer, as good men have suffered in every age and every land; but their sufferings will bring salvation to their country. The present situation in China will prove, what critical situations have proven over and over again in the course of human history, that the strongest forces in the world are not those of hatred and destruction, but of good-will and righteousness which exalt the nations.

EXTRA-TERRITORIALITY IN CHINA

REV. J. H. DE FOREST, D.D., SENDAI, JAPAN

THE greatest international problem of the twentieth century is how to get the populous and historic East into sympathetic relations with the aggressive West, so that the two halves of the human race may make one fairly peaceful whole. Within this gigantic problem is that of extra-territoriality, and the main sphere of its operation is with China and her 400,000,000.

There is no other land where this temporary system of international intercourse has been pushed to such lawless and exasperating extremes, and with such deplorable results, as in China. That great historic country is humiliated by the heavy bands of the nations in repeated infringements of her sovereignty, by forceful interference with her courts, revenues, commerce, and even her religions. It is natural that there should be a growing resentment toward all foreigners, and a hatred of the West that constitutes a standing peril to the peace of the world.

"China deserves all the humiliation she has received," is the blunt assertion of many. Very well. It doubtless was necessary to fight her, to defeat her, to exact heavy indemnities, and to impose on her the extra-territorial jurisdiction which progressive nations have devised for their intercourse with belated peoples. But, was it necessary to push these extra rights until they became flagrant wrongs? And is it not time for the statesmen of the twentieth century to devise new ways of intercourse that shall lessen friction and hate?

It is a pleasure to note that the three great powers, Great Britain, Japan, and the United States, in their treaties of 1903, have this significant and sympathetic article:

"The Government of China having expressed a strong desire to reform its judicial system and to bring it into accord with that of Western nations, the United States agrees to every assistance to this reform and will also be prepared to relinquish extra-territorial rights when satisfied that the state of the Chinese laws, the arrangements for their administration, and other considerations warrant it in so doing."

It is the purpose of this paper, then, to help call public attention to the manifold injustice of the workings of extra-territoriality in China, so that a more enlightened public opinion may help in the solution of this difficult world problem. I shall not go into the relative attitude of the different powers toward China, nor into the relative friction generated by Catholics and Protestants. These can be abundantly found in the references appended to this article.

DIFFERENT KINDS OF EXTRA-TERRITORIALITY.—There are three kinds of extra-territoriality recognized by the treaties with China, and anyone who gets onto the track of these three has, I think, the best key to a wide understanding of Chinese problems. One may read scores of books on China, but unless these three unusual treaty items are kept in sight, he is likely to lose his perspective and see things in very wrong proportions.

MERCHANTS' EXTRA-TERRITORIALITY.—This is the first. Merchants must have open ports in which to live and do business under the laws and regulations of their own lands. They therefore in time build up such magnificent emporiums as Shanghai, Tiensing, and many others, in which they have their own municipal regulations, consular courts, and police; and there are over a score of these little foreign empires within the Empire of China. Visitors to the East are delighted with these progressive settlements, but

they generally fail to see what a ceaseless source of friction they are with the Government of China, and how they generate hatred of foreigners.

One of the first things that attracts the attention of visitors to Shanghai is the turbaned Sikh police, imported from India on five years' contracts, because they are cheaper than Europeans, and are said to know how to "handle the natives," who number over half a million, and constitute a great native city within the limits of the foreign settlement. Doubtless among the 525 Sikh policemen there are many who have won the high confidence of their employers, but all the same there is universal hatred of their attitude of contempt and their frequent brutality toward the Chinese. Many foreign houses employ Sikhs as watchmen, because they inspire the Chinese with dread. These Indians act very much as conquerors, and anyone can hear how they insult and strike and kick the Chinese. The court records of this fall have been full of trials of these Sikhs for drunkenness, disobedience, and brutal attacks on Chinese women as well as men, and quite a number have been punished with confinement, or dismissed, or even deported.

A Chinese editor in the Settlement wrote in an exciting manner against the brutalities of the Sikhs, calling them "beasts" and "slaves of foreigners." For this he was arrested and tried by the foreign authorities and sentenced to publish a retraction of "beasts" and to substitute "our brothers." One can easily see how the press throughout China would utilize a case like this in deepening hatred of foreigners who use this objectionable police system. Should this dissatisfaction with the Sikhs become a little deeper, it is not unlikely that the 229 white police and the 969 Chinese police will be increased, so that Indians may no longer exercise authority over Chinese.

SETTLEMENT EXTENSION.—Another source of almost constant friction is what is called Settlement Extension. Westerners need room. They are active, and are always land-hungry. They need wide playgrounds and pleasurable roads. So there is a ceaseless pushing out and encroaching upon the rights of China. Chinese officials, of course, have no sympathy with this outward push, but instead of making rational plans for carefully guarded expansion, they generally procrastinate and obstruct. There is even now a sincere desire for expansion in Shanghai, but the Viceroy pays very little heed to the request of the foreign consuls. There is also collision with local authorities over road extension, and in spite of official protests the roads are pushed out, and any Chinese who get in the way are pushed out also. For example, the Taotai, in a letter of Oct. 21, 1909, to the Senior Council, complains as follows:

"The North Szechuen Road, which is outside the Settlement, is originally a road which the Council constructed without authority. The length of the road is very great, and is patrolled by your police. If our Chinese police have to pass over this road, your police oppose them. This is a great cause for mutual collisions and is most contrary to peaceable relations between Chinese and foreigners."

To which the Council sends a long reply emphatically refusing to allow the Taotai's police the right to use this road that is outside the Settlement, and this significant hint of annexation follows: "The extension of the Settlement (so as to embrace the region through which the road runs) will put an end to the question the Taotai raises," and ends with the cool statement that no coöperation with Chinese authorities is possible so long as the present local official remains in office!

No one can notice the extension of the foreign settlements in China without being impressed with the fact that foreigners take advantage of their superior power in enforcing various demands. But at the same time it must be said that the Chinese invite this infringement of their rights

by *procrastination and obstruction*, by which two ideas their policy of foreign intercourse seems to be blindly dominated. Globe-trotters who delightfully ride over the network of splendid roads connected with the foreign settlements little think what a source of friction with, and hatred of, foreigners they are.

Yet these settlements are a source of untold blessing in linking up the great East with the great West, and the heroic men and women who have made these magnificent links are worthy of all praise. If the evils of this extra-territoriality were only limited to the fringes of a few settlements, there would be no need of writing about them. The fact, however, is that they touch the very heart and life of a great nation, which, it must be said, has shown no earnest desire to learn the art of foreign intercourse.

SYNDICATE EXTRA-TERRITORIALITY.—The invasion of China by trusts and syndicates under the shield of extra-territoriality is another cause of a growing dislike and dread of foreigners. Take the Anglo-American Tobacco Trust. In Nanking their posters were lawlessly pasted right and left, even on Temple walls.

If this be a rather mild specimen of pin-pricking, what shall we say of the railroads and mining privileges that foreigners have secured from the Chinese Government? A list of the railroads that foreigners have had their hands on, covering thousands of miles, and of the mining concessions they have somehow secured, involving the carrying of extra-territoriality any and everywhere into the interior, and thus extending the sphere of foreign rights far and wide—this long list is enough to account for the wide anti-foreign demonstrations and riots and boycotts and murders. The growing public opinion against these foreign operations right and left through the country is so pronounced that the Central Government has been obliged in some cases to buy back the privileges at enormous loss in order to prevent uncontrollable mobs. The people of China are waking up to see that if foreigners get much more of a grip on their country, its independence and possibly its very existence are in peril. Hence that increasing cry, "*China for the Chinese!*" "*No more foreign capital!*" "*Abolish extra-territoriality!*"

RIPARIAN EXTRA-TERRITORIALITY.—One more specimen of commercial extra-territoriality is seen in the unusual manner in which foreign steamers go many hundreds of miles up Chinese rivers carrying the flags of the nations and followed everywhere by foreign gunboats. It is one of the unique sights of the world to go up the Yangtse River and see the grip the nations have all through this prosperous and populous valley on which some 200,000,000 Chinese depend. Here, right in the heart of China, the nations of the earth are competing with each other, each eager to get the full benefit and even more out of the "most-favored nation" clause, and each a constant irritant to an easily excited people. Only this summer a British policeman at Kiukiang was charged with having killed a Chinese with a brutal kick. His consul tried the case, and acquitted the policeman and restored him to his place, where his presence only deepened the resentment of the people who believed the policeman was guilty. Well, it was necessary that foreign gunboats should spend the summer before the walls of Kiukiang, 500 miles into the center of China. If we put ourselves in the place of the people of this great nation, whose traditions for millenniums have stood for peace and reason, we can see that the effect upon them must be something like our feelings in case a fleet of European warships were to ascend the Delaware to Philadelphia, with the open understanding that they were there for compelling purposes. But China has no fleet nor navy. The only weapon left her is the boycott. And the whole world knows of the boycott which that city immediately put upon all British vessels. There never was

such wide purpose to fight foreign aggression by the boycott as is going on all through China. America, Japan, England, have lost millions on millions by the united action of Chinese, who feel deeply the endless humiliation of this forced commercialism which shows so little respect for the national sentiments.

OPEN PORT NEWSPAPERS.—Right here come in the foreign newspapers published in the open ports. It goes without saying that some of the best men and ablest journalists in the world are connected with Eastern papers. Some of these are really world papers with a splendid cosmopolitanism. But after all, most of the papers will at times cruelly and stingingly criticize and browbeat the Chinese people, officials, and Government; and whenever any serious agitation is on, the Government gets hints of what the gunboats will do unless it does better. For one thing, this foreign press on Chinese soil demands that the boycott be suppressed and forbidden under severe penalties. While writing this article, one of these exceptionally able papers comes to hand with successive numbers freely speaking as follows. Concerning the Kiukiang boycott:

"It deserves to be treated as nothing but a monstrous form of blackmail which should be visited with swift repression. The only sure method of preventing the mischief from spreading further afield is to hold the native authorities responsible for every penny of the damage." Which, being interpreted, is, exact another indemnity for mercantile losses.

Concerning the same boycott, two months later: "A stage has now been reached when it is necessary to do something more than stop the boycott; when it is necessary to convince the Central Government, by the only means of persuasion to which it has shown itself susceptible, of the extreme seriousness of boycotts as a factor that cannot be tolerated in international politics. . . . Full compensation must be exacted for every day that the boycott has been endured."

Concerning the Anhui mining boycott, which it calls "sheer brigandage," the paper says: "That Peking should lose all consideration abroad as an organism that can be dealt with seriously, is a fate for which, perhaps, it does not greatly care. But with every additional proof of its failure to assert its authority, it advances the day when foreign suitors may have to take joint action for the enforcement of their just claims; and that is a fate for which neither Peking nor the Provinces can be supposed to have much appetite." In other words, the combined powers will give you another lesson if you don't stop your boycotts against our concessions in the middle of China.

Of course the Central and Provincial Governments may be procrastinating and obstructive, and may also be quite unable to control local anti-foreign agitation. It may be that nothing less than perpetual gunboat demonstrations far into the interior of China can prevent perilous uprisings and attempts to drive all foreigners to the coast. But what I desire to show is that no other civilized nation is subjected to a foreign press on its own soil, with unlimited liberty of bitter criticism of the Government with occasional threats of new aggressions unless foreign demands, however righteous, were favorably met. Thus, Merchant Extra-territoriality, that has, we gladly state, brought wide benefit to China, and indeed to the whole world, has reached a limit where world sympathy rather than threats is needed to help solve on other than gunboat lines this really grievous problem.

MISSIONARY EXTRA-TERRITORIALITY.—The second kind of extra-territoriality mentioned in the treaties shows the unfortunate political environment in which missions have to work in China. I am a missionary and lived twenty-five years under extra-territoriality before Japan recovered her autonomy in 1899, and I must confess that this experience taught me a most

necessary lesson. We missionaries were never allowed to go outside the half dozen open ports without a regular passport obtained from the Central Government and limited in time and space. "How then did missionaries happen to live and have homes and schools and churches in many inland cities?" some one may ask. The reply is: every missionary, man or woman, who resided outside the narrow foreign concessions was employed by responsible Japanese. I came to Sendai in 1886, employed to teach English at the nominal salary of one dollar a year in a school conducted on Christian principles. My employer was the principal of the school. As the Government absolutely refused permission to foreigners to buy land or to build anywhere in the interior, I could only buy and build in the name of my employer who legally held all our mission property. Thus of all the mission dwellings and schools and church buildings for which missionary societies so generously furnished the money, not a foot of land nor a brick of the houses was ever held legally in the name of a foreigner.

Though 200 miles from Tokyo, I could not leave the city over night without a passport from the Central Government, which the Governor had to send for and endorse. I was hedged in with restraints. Though treated in a friendly manner by the officials, I was disliked and repeatedly insulted by the irresponsible youths of the city, who of course were only reflecting the thoughts of their elders. It was indeed a trying time for all missionaries who for the sake of a wide work were willing to live in the interior.

But here is the secret of it. Japan is the only Government that has handled the humiliating extra-territoriality problem with consummate skill and success. She knew that to admit foreigners to the interior with any rights beyond that of personal protection would open the doors to various kinds of infringement of her sovereignty. She therefore saw to it that no foreigner got away from the concessions either for sight seeing or commerce or missionary work, unless he were especially permitted by the highest authority in the land, the Central Government. The splendid result is that missionaries could not possibly have any lawsuits over property, and therefore no indemnity problem. We were most carefully guarded against any mob demonstrations and physical violence. So that no missionary has ever been murdered here, and virtually no mobbing of the converts has taken place in modern Japan. As we look back we can only praise the Government for the successful manner in which it made no distinction between merchants and missionaries, but kept all extra-territorial rights absolutely limited to a few small foreign concessions, until the equal treaties of 1899 abolished this system and opened all the Empire to foreigners, who from that time have been subject to Japanese law only. Thus without a single war, and almost without a single riot, and without any blood of martyrs, the slate was cleaned, and Japan became the political equal of Western powers.

What a contrast to China! whose Government from the first hated the idea of foreign intercourse. Dr. W. A. P. Martin, way back in 1862, saw the utter unpreparedness of the Government for holding diplomatic relations with the West, and translated and published Wheaton's International Law, under the sanction of the Tsungli Yamen, but these cabinet officials would have none of it. What did they care for the manner in which Western barbarians held intercourse one with another? The Great Middle Kingdom that had been for millenniums sufficient unto itself, had no need of being taught anything by outsiders.

So at last the unendurable frictions resulted in wars, and humiliating treaties, with increasing numbers of open ports, and a constant unfolding of the missionary movement in the interior, in which not only the missionaries and their property, but even their converts too, all came under the

virtual protection of foreign governments. It is impossible, in a paper like this, to do more than sketch the missionary movement, a splendid religious and humanitarian movement, yet one that from the start was forced to become a part of a vast political invasion of China's sovereign rights.

The peculiar status of missionaries is seen in the wording of Art. XIV in the last treaty with the United States:

"Missionary societies shall be permitted to rent and to lease in perpetuity buildings or lands *in all parts of the Empire*, and . . . to erect such suitable buildings as may be required for carrying on their good work."

No merchants have any such liberal treaty rights. How missionaries have sometimes used these rights may be inferred from another clause of Art. XIV:

"Missionaries shall not interfere with the exercise by the native authorities of their jurisdiction over Chinese subjects."

Records show many instances in which missionaries have taken sides with their converts, and have even infringed on the judicial autonomy of the native courts, relying on consular aid to sustain them. Out of many authorities on this, read Dr. Arthur Smith's "China in Convulsion," in which this gifted writer, one of the ablest of China's missionaries, says: "There has been much in the method of Christian propagation which is open to just criticism, and which at this crucial juncture ought to be fearlessly exposed, frankly admitted, and honestly abandoned, new and better methods replacing those which have proved faulty and unworthy."

NATIVE CHRISTIANS' EXTRA-TERRITORIALITY.—This may seem a strange characterization of the political condition of the native Christians, but this same Art. XIV also says:

"The Chinese convert, who peaceably teaches and practices the principles of Christianity, shall in no case be interfered with"; "Native authorities shall make no distinction between converts and non-converts, but shall administer the laws without partiality so that both classes can live together in peace."

Why should the United States treaty say anything about the treatment of Christian Chinese in their own country? Because the converts were sometimes persecuted, looted by mobs, and even killed. Such hostile acts drove them more and more to seek the protection of missionaries, who naturally desire to prevent injustice to their converts. So it has gradually grown up that converts, by gaining the shadow of foreign protection, have become separated from their fellows, and are often regarded both by the Government and people as being almost denationalized. The phrase "ordinary people and church members," to express the entire population of any community, is current all through the Empire, and appears even in Government edicts, and this distinction is actually embodied in the British and United States treaties.

How far this denationalizing of Christians goes may be partially inferred from an edict of last spring which deprives Christians and graduates of Mission Colleges of political rights in the new representative movement. Though our Minister has tried to secure official recognition of Mission Colleges of high grade, the Government declines the request. I was told by the principal of a high school in Government employ, one who was educated in the United States, that he could not vote simply because he was a Christian, even though he were in the employment of the Government. Even though some Christians have exercised this right in the recent elections, that does not greatly break the ominous significance of the fact that they are practically regarded as a sort of foreign appendage.

BOXERS AND CHRISTIANS.—In view of the above facts, we see that it very naturally happens that when anti-missionary riots break out, they strike

with equal venom against the converts. In the horrible Boxer movement, the cry to destroy the Christians was quite as fierce as that for the slaughter of missionaries. And this wide wave of hatred, backed even by the Empress Dowager, and determination to kill all foreigners, even the representatives of the Powers, too, and with them all the native Christians, thus ridding the land once for all of any more contact with foreigners and their teachings, simply shows how deep the hatred toward foreigners had come to be under extra-territorial treatment, and how wretchedly ignorant of the laws of international intercourse China was, and also how dangerous to peace a sincere Christian movement may be under a weak and vacillating Government.

INDEMNITIES.—All these decades of friction and persecution and massacres of noble missionaries, their wives and children, too, and of thousands of converts, have led to the sincere conviction that only by exacting heavy indemnities, not only for missionaries' losses of life and property, but also for the losses of converts, can these riots be kept in check.

It is far from the missionary heart to do this willingly, and profound dissatisfaction with the whole business fills many a missionary mind. A few societies rise to the height of their faith and absolutely refuse to take any indemnity whatever, no matter how many are killed or how much property is destroyed. This is the courage of faith, but in a world like China, where the Government is both weak and ignorant, where the literati and officials dread the political status of missionary work, and where the converts are largely recruited from the lower classes, and are disliked as sharers in some degree of the foreigners' extra-territoriality, the only workable way for the very existence of missions in China seems to be to protect the workers and their flocks by treaty rights. Then if the Government carelessly allows mobbings and massacres of converts, there seems no other practicable way than to exact indemnities for them. This is not done in Turkey, though far more sweeping massacres of Christians have taken place there. China alone of the great nations has gradually fallen under this system.

That missionary societies are awaking to the whole problem is seen from the reports of representative men who are sent out to study the situation. One report (1907), says with reference to the unfortunate extra-territorial Christianity: "Treaties between China and the Western nations gave a degree of foreign protection to Chinese converts to Christianity. This established a state of things unlike that which has ever prevailed in any other country. Our observation has led us to the conclusion that this clause in the treaties was wholly unwise and in the end has been most injurious to the progress of Christianity in China. . . . It has led to constant deception on the part of the Chinese, and to repeated interventions on the part of missionaries between the Chinese Government and its lawful subjects. It has been taken advantage of by foreign powers in the most flagrant fashion for the furtherance of schemes of territorial aggrandizement. . . . It is at the present by far the greatest ground for reproach in China against Christian missions. . . . We were much gratified to find that many of our missionaries discountenance this practice. A general sentiment prevails throughout our missions that it is high time that intervention of any sort, on the part of missionaries in cases involving the relation of Chinese subjects to the courts or to their Government, should be altogether discontinued."

THE FUTURE OF MISSIONS.—There is no questioning anywhere of the ability and true Christian heart of the missionaries. They love China and are willing to die if necessary in the expression of their intense longing that the people may know God and Jesus Christ whom He sent. But they

are caught in this extra-territoriality system and are so involved that they and their folds have treaty rights, such as expose them to ceaseless misunderstandings and hatred. What can be done? Perhaps Dr. Gilbert Reid's words furnish the clue:

"He is the best friend to China who continues to urge on her officials the reforms in law and administration, that her sovereignty may be established, rather than he who minimizes reform to hasten Chinese rule. . . . Let us [missionaries] favor the speedy attainment of sovereign rights for China, with extra-territoriality gone forever, and let us with equal energy urge on reform in law and administration, full sovereignty based on true reform."

Can not also the great missionary societies of the West take special steps to show their sympathy with China in such a way as to check this wide hatred of their work? China is actually waking up. Newspapers are becoming a vast educating force. National opinion is being formed on national and world problems. Provincial Assemblies are already in existence, and a Constitution is promised within a decade. What kind of a Constitution will it be as regards religious liberty? "There's no such thing as religious liberty in China," said a missionary of long service to me. And if that Constitution should be promulgated without any recognition of freedom of faith, it might become a permanent set back to the greatest missionary movement on earth.

When one sees what a wave of delight went over China at the return of a portion of the Boxer indemnity, and how much good-will was generated by that act, it seems possible for the great missionary interests of the world to produce a similar wave of good-will by some similar act. That it is contrary to the spirit of Christ to exact indemnities no one will deny. It was done only as a pressing political necessity, and as a temporary measure for protection. And does not the fact that this most populous nation on earth is soon to promulgate its Constitution mark a most fitting time for the Christians of the world through their societies to show their confidence in the coming trustworthiness of China by some substantial return of indemnities? Would it not be an expression of good-will that fits the Everlasting Gospel? And can missionary societies afford to be behind Government actions of this good kind? It would be told in every newspaper in every Province. It would generate in thoughtful minds a new attitude toward Christianity, which even under existing circumstances has been an immense blessing to more than a million of adherents, and a constant incentive to progress for the whole nation. The missionaries are in reality the best friends China has in all the world, and the coming Constitution affords the occasion for a world manifestation of this friendship, which in turn might influence most favorably the Government's attitude toward religious freedom.

Then the treaties must be revised before many years have passed. Might not the Missionary Societies, in consultation with their governments arrange that there shall be no more mention of missionaries and converts in the treaties, and thus help on the movement toward complete abolition of extra-territoriality? If it still be necessary to have some formal international understanding on the matter, could it not be done by an interchange of special Government notes, or by an "Annex" to the treaties, as the opium question is, and thus reduce the entire problem from the central place it now holds, putting it on a moral basis more than on a political one? Or, a Commission might be formed to study the question in all its political bearings. In this respect, England's treaty is an advance on that of the United States, in that it looks forward to an early solution of this far-reaching international problem.

Since the majority of missionaries are sent from Great Britain and the

United States, if the United States Government could see its way to unite in such a Commission, in which Christian interests and the interests of diplomacy should be fully represented, it would seem as though some plan could be found, before the Chinese Constitution is promulgated, that would give profound satisfaction to China, and at the same time bring immense relief both to missions and to diplomacy.

Or, once more: it may be that the principle of arbitration, which has already been successfully applied to one religious question of international interest, may be invoked under the recent Arbitration Treaty with China, in which the United States recognizes China on a plane of equality with other nations. This unique treaty says:

"Differences which may arise of a legal nature or relating to the interpretation of treaties existing between the two contracting Powers, and which it may not have been possible to settle by diplomacy, shall be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, provided, nevertheless, that they do not affect the vital interests, the independence, or the honor of the two contracting states, and do not concern the interests of third parties."

I doubt whether anything so widely beneficial could be done during the five years to which this treaty is limited, as some definite steps toward the complete separation of the religious question from international politics.

LAWLESS EXTRA-TERRITORIALITY.—It remains to notice the extremes to which this invasion of China's sovereignty is carried, and the illustrations of it that stand out most conspicuously. One has only to mass the various slices of territory taken in recent years under one pretense or another by the Powers—Kiaochow Bay with surrounding territory, by Germany; Port Arthur, by Russia; Wai-hei-Wei, by England, with 200 sq. m. opposite Hong-kong also annexed; France ceaselessly whittling away on the Southern border; Japan in Formosa looking with hungry eyes on the mainland opposite; and even Italy asking officially for her share;—to see that China was indeed in peril of being sliced up beyond recovery. In the light of these aggressions, the Boxer uprising is not difficult to understand.

What makes these invasions and punishments and indemnities all the more pitiable and unjust, are the indescribable wrongs that tens of thousands of innocent Chinese suffer. When the Chinese Government joined with Boxers to exterminate even the representatives of the nations, it was necessary that the allied armies should go to Peking with swift retribution. But what shall we say of the brutalities that sections of our Western soldiers committed, by the needless ruination of entire towns and cities, their uncontrollable lusts, their months of loot? In one small city, Tungehou, women preferred suicide rather than meet the soldiers of the West, and when later the bodies of these women were lifted from the wells, over 1,100 were counted.

THE HUMILIATING MONUMENT.—Now that the fever for punishing China has cooled, it is well to refer to a prolific source of resentment in the shape of a monument that compels attention as far as the eye can reach on one of the main roads of the Capital—the Ketteler Monument. The whole world knows of Baron von Ketteler's murder at the time of the Boxer riots, when the Government and the people were crazy against foreigners. It was therefore necessary to compel China to send a Prince of the first rank to carry the apology of the Government to the German Emperor. And eleven of the Powers felt it necessary to add a most bitter and conspicuous humiliation by Art. 1B of the Peace Protocol (of course the wording is as though the Chinese Government did it without compulsion).

"The Chinese Government has announced that it will erect, on the spot of the murder of His Excellency Baron von Ketteler, a Memorial Monu-

ment corresponding to the rank of the deceased, with an inscription in Latin, German, and Chinese, which shall express the regret of H. M. the Emperor of China for the murder done."

This triple arch, with its threefold apology staring into the faces of tens of thousands of Chinese who pass that way, simply outrages their feelings and can be of no possible use in conciliating Chinese and foreigners. Is it not possible, in view of the awakening of that nation, for the eleven nations in some way to convey to the Chinese the assurance that the monument is not to be permanent, that with coming reforms it shall disappear, and not mar the national joy when the Constitution Day approaches?

So then, to sum up this amazing chapter of international intercourse under extra-territoriality, Sir Robert Hart's words are not out of place. This eminent official of long service in China, whose sympathy with the people gives weight to what he says, puts himself in the place of the Chinese to this effect: "We didn't invite you foreigners here, you came of your own accord and more or less forced yourselves on us. We generously permitted your trade, but what return did you make? . . . Whether it was that we granted you privileges or that you exacted concessions, you have treated our slightest mistakes as violations of treaty rights, and instead of showing yourselves friendly and considerate, you insult us by charges of bad faith and demand reparation and indemnities. Your missionaries have been everywhere teaching good lessons, and benevolently opening hospitals and dispensing medicines for the relief of the sick and afflicted, but wherever they go troubles go with them, and instead of the welcome their good intentions merit, localities and officials turn against them. When called on to indemnify them for losses, we find to our astonishment that it is exactions of would-be millionaires we would have to satisfy! Your people are everywhere extra-territorialized; but instead of a grateful return for this ill-advised stipulation, they appear to act as if there were no laws in China, and this encourages native lawlessness and makes constant difficulties for every native official. You have demanded and obtained the privilege of trading from port to port on the coast, and now you want the inland waters thrown open to your steamers. Your newspapers vilify our officials and our Government, and, translated into Chinese, circulate very mischievous reading. . . . All these things weaken official authority, therefore the official world is against you. . . . What countries give aliens extra-territorial status? What countries allow aliens to compete in their coasting trade? What countries throw open their inland waters to other flags? And yet all these things you compel us to grant you! Why can you not treat us as you do others?"

CONCLUSION.—China is indeed worthy of better treatment than she has received at the hands of the Treaty Powers in the nineteenth century. To be sure she has, from our Western standpoint, blundered criminally in her handling of international problems, and her complete humiliation forms the saddest chapter in her long and worthy history. The larger part of this humiliation might have been prevented had she only employed two or three international lawyers of repute to show her the world view of things, and to help her make intercourse with foreigners both safe and profitable. With such help it is morally certain that there never would have been any such wide invasion of her sovereignty, nor any such national humiliation as is embodied in the treaties and conventions.

But in spite of these costly blunders, China is a truly great nation with a moral history of which the whole world may well be proud. China is great intellectually, morally, politically. Dr. Timothy Richard, a man perhaps more widely beloved than any other of the great missionaries, says: "The

fundamental principle of Chinese philosophy is *Reason* . . . so there was produced in China a race of men about the noblest of any on the face of the earth. Once convince a Chinese that a thing is reasonable and you have him instantly. That was one tremendous trait in the intellectual development of China. . . . It would therefore be preposterous for them to think of learning anything from foreigners."

And Captain Brinkley, whose history of China is one of the most sympathetic books on Eastern affairs, says: "It is to this faith in *reason* that the Chinese owe their contempt for armaments."

Then the high official, Wu Ting Fang, is worthy of all belief when he says of the moral history of his people: "Our philosophers laid down the principle that conquest by force was not true and permanent, that conquest by justice and kindness was best."

It may be commercial policy to send Ministers to China who shall aid the introduction of Western capital. But surely it is equally imperative that the Ministers be encouraged to discover rapidly some way of ameliorating these extra-territorial conditions, so that their actual practice shall be worthy of the twentieth century. What President Taft said when he visited Shanghai is to the point: "The United States will encourage this great Chinese Empire to take long steps in administrative reform." The better sentiment of all the world wants her to hasten the reforms that will give her the right to call for the fulfilment of the conditional promise that three nations have given to abolish extra-territoriality.

Meanwhile, by our pulpits and university courses, by newspapers and magazines, every possible aid should be given toward educating the peoples of the West with reference to Eastern problems, in order that the moral sentiment of our Government and people may realize in actual practice the Chinese ideal, "*Conquest by kindness is best.*"

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GOOD AND BAD IN THE WESTERN INVASION OF CHINA

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ARE the representatives of one civilization justified in attempting to modify another and radically different one? Even if the modifying civilization be superior to that which is modified, is the result of the process certain to be good? Destruction is easier than construction. The bad seems to be easier of propagation than the good. Granted that the civilization of Europe and America is superior to that of China, may not the contact of Western nations with China do China more harm than good?

The isolation of China from other nations has not been quite so complete as we perhaps sometimes imagine. The definite adoption of the policy of isolation dates only from the latter period of the Ming dynasty, say, from the end of the sixteenth century. Yet, contact with Western nations was relatively slight until within three hundred years. Even the conquest of China by Eastern races, by the Mongols in the twelfth century and by the Manchus in the seventeenth, did not materially affect the character of Chinese civilization. The conquered absorbed their conquerors and imposed on them their laws and civilization. The beginning of modern European influence on China dates from 1514, when the Portuguese entered China as traders. In their train came the Spanish, Dutch, and English. The United States trade in China dates from 1785.

England, which conducted her trade with China from 1664 to 1834 through the East India Company, forced the opium trade upon China in successive wars between 1840 and 1860. As the sequel of the war of 1840, England, besides a large indemnity and the opening of five ports to British trade, acquired the island of Hongkong. This she still holds as a British colony, and has recently demanded and secured from China a certain right of control over all lands within thirty miles around about the territory over which she exercises full sovereignty. As late as the Shanghai Opium Conference of 1909, which was brought about on the initiative of the United States, England's large financial stake in the opium trade constituted the chief obstacle to securing full coöperation of the Western nations with China's own strenuous effort to free herself from the curse of the opium habit.

France, taking occasion from the murder of certain French missionaries by Chinese, joined England in the war of 1857-60, and, later, in attempting to make good her control of Annam, became involved in war with the Chinese forces in Tong King. As a result of the latter war she acquired control of Tong King also under the treaty of 1885.

The war of China with Japan in 1894-5 involved her in serious financial difficulties, of which Western nations availed themselves to acquire further control as the price of large loans to China. In 1897 Germany took advantage of the murder of two German missionaries to demand, and, in fact, obtained large interests in the province of Shantung. In addition to mining and railroad concessions in the interior, Germany acquired a considerable tract about the port of Kiao-Chau, and has built at Tsingtao a thoroughly German city on Chinese soil.

In 1898 Russia forced China to lease to her Port Arthur and Ta-lien-

wan, on the Liao-Tung peninsula, and, as an offset to this concession to Russia, England demanded and obtained similar rights in Wai-hei-Wei.

If these events do not justify the so-called Boxer movement of 1900, and the alliance of the Empress Dowager with this violent attempt to rid the country of the foreigners, they at least make both intelligible.

A monument which is still preserved in the province of Shansi, and of which a duplicate has recently been secured by the Metropolitan Museum, in New York, testifies that Christian missionaries from the nearer East came into China as early as the sixth century. Of this early effort to introduce Christianity into China, however, there were no permanent results. Roman Catholic missions began in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and Protestant missions in the early part of the nineteenth. There are now, perhaps, a million Roman Catholics and two hundred and fifty thousand Protestants among the Chinese. The missionaries, of whose labors these converts are the product, are from England, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Australia, Canada, and the United States. They number some 1,200 Roman Catholics and 3,500 Protestants, and represent some seventy different societies and nearly a score of different denominations.

The existence of this Christian community, small fraction though it is of the total population, is an undoubted and great benefit to China, as are also the hospitals, printing-presses, and schools that have come in with the Christian missionaries. But it is much to be regretted that the Chinese Christians are organized into churches separated from one another not only by denominational lines, but also by the national and sectional lines that separate the missionary organizations. Thus, there are not only Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists, but several classes of each according to the country or even the section of country from which the missionaries came. Christian missionaries have not yet learned how to impart to a non-Christian people the essential elements of their religion in their purity and simplicity, but with these have always carried along those sectarian peculiarities which are the unhappy record of the controversies of the past.

Christianity has made but few converts among the more intellectual and influential classes in China. In Peking, as in Jerusalem of old, one may still inquire incredulously and scornfully, "Have any of the rulers believed on Him?" The situation in Japan is very different. There, from the first, Christianity made its appeal to the Samurai, and to-day it counts among its followers men of high position in statesmanship, education, and literature, and among its preachers men of ability and standing. In China there are a few such, and multitudes whose lives prove beyond doubt the sincerity of their Christianity, but in general, as in Corinth in the days of the Apostle Paul, so in China to-day, not many wise, not many mighty, not many noble are numbered among the Christians. This also is perhaps not wholly inexplicable in view of the history of China's contact with so-called Christian nations.

The Chinese are a very able people, physically sturdy and intellectually keen. The process of natural selection has in large measure destroyed the weaklings and left a people of remarkable physical toughness and endurance. Their education, narrow though it has been, has by no means destroyed their intellectual powers. The scholars educated in the old learning are men of intellectual power within their range, and Chinese youth easily hold their own with those of Europe and America, heirs of the centuries of Western civilization.

The Chinese are a people of relatively high morality. The majority of the people are at the same time Buddhists, Taoists, and Confucianists. Buddhism and Taoism, as they exist to-day, are largely permeated with superstition, and have little, if any, power for good. But Confucianism, of

which alone the men of the scholar class confess themselves adherents, presents a high moral standard, and exerts to-day, as it has for centuries, a powerful and, on the whole, a healthful moral influence. Political life is unfortunately permeated and seriously corrupted by what we call "graft"—what the Chinese call "squeeze." In this respect things are far worse even than with us. It is said that the Taotai of a certain Chinese city pays \$250,000 (Mexican) for an office, the salary of which is \$1,000, and makes it pay him \$500,000. But the standard of commercial life is remarkably high. The reputation of Chinese merchants in the East is that they will keep a contract if it ruins them. It is customary to settle all accounts at the end of the Chinese year, and, in times past, it has been a common custom, as it is still to some extent, that the debtor who could not pay his debts at the beginning of the new year committed suicide.

Modern history has shown few more noble examples of national virtue and capacity than the effect of the Chinese, already in a measure successful, to free themselves from the shackles of that opium habit which England bound upon her. Opium is still smoked, and the poppy is still grown in China. But both opium smoking and poppy cultivation have diminished, and there is reason to hope that both will in time be exterminated. Shortly before the day set for the closing of all opium dens in the city of Chung King, the Taotai was visited by a delegation of merchants interested in the continuance of the opium trade, who represented to the official that the strict enforcement of the edict at the set time would be premature, and that there would certainly be trouble if it were attempted.

"Very well," the official replied, "I have taken down all your names. If there is any trouble, I shall know whom to hold responsible."

On the appointed day all the hundreds of opium shops in the city were closed.

The Chinese people are a peaceable people. They do not love war, and will fight only if it is inevitable. Until very lately the soldier has been at the bottom of the social ladder. Only Western influence and the danger of foreign encroachment have begun of late to change this. In this respect China is in sharp contrast with Japan, in which from time immemorial the soldier class has been the aristocracy. The peaceableness of the Chinese appears also in their tolerance. Their history is not one of religious wars. Their persecutions of Christians have been largely anti-foreign rather than anti-Christian. The Boxers, though they murdered Christian missionaries and their converts, and destroyed all mission property within reach, were moved rather by patriotism that saw no way to check foreign aggression except to exterminate the foreigner and foreign influence, rather than by a religious hatred.

This peaceableness of disposition extends also to personal relations. In the course of six months' travel in China, that extended from Canton in the south to Peking and Mukden in the north and from Shanghai in the east to Chengtu in the west, and brought us into close contact with the people, we witnessed very little personal violence, heard comparatively little violent language, and met with absolutely no expression of hostility to ourselves. On the contrary, we were everywhere impressed with the politeness of the Chinese, even of the lower classes. The Anglo-Saxon brought into close contact with the Chinese is often conscious of the barbaric blood still flowing in his veins as he finds it difficult to live up to the Chinese standards of courtesy.

Chinese civilization is in some respects in advance of that of Europe and America. If we have something to impart, we have also much to learn, and their assimilation of our civilization entire would be by no means an unmixed good. It is a fair question, which as Occidentals and as Christians

we ought to consider, whether it would not be for China's advantage for us all to withdraw and leave her to work out her own problems and develop her own civilization. To answer this question demands the consideration of several facts.

China is just entering upon a new period in her history. For good or evil, willingly or unwillingly, she has determined to abandon the policy of centuries, and, instead of maintaining herself in isolation, to become one of the nations of the world. So radical are the changes, political, military, educational, social, moral, which this momentous step involves or may involve, that it practically amounts to the creation of a new civilization. There are great possibilities of both good and evil in it.

But, for good or evil, the die is cast, the step is taken. The new period of history is already begun. Only its character is yet to be determined. To make it good will not be easy. On the one hand, China is surrounded by nations whose desire to gain advantage for themselves, rather than to see China prosper, is scarcely concealed and imperfectly restrained. It is probably a fortunate thing for China, if not also for the future of the civilization of the world, that certain national treasuries are at present not overflowing but heavily overdrawn.

At home also, China is heavily handicapped. Her system of governmental administration and finance is such that the Government can scarcely be other than impoverished so long as the system continues. There is as yet a very imperfect development of the country's material resources, from which must come the means to pay for the new education and the various other elements of the new civilization, to say nothing of a new army and a new navy, if Western aggression compels peaceful China to create these. Agriculture is in some regions very highly developed, and something has been done in the mining of coal and iron. But much is still to be done in these and other directions, to enable China to give to her people the advantage of Western civilization.

And not least among China's handicaps is the dearth, at this crucial moment in her history, of great statesmen to guide the ship of state. The late Empress Dowager was a great statesman, if it be permitted to apply this masculine term to a woman, and she knew how to make use of the abilities of the statesmen of her empire. But within a little over a year she has "ascended upon the dragon." Of her two ablest statesmen, Yuan Shih Kai and Chang Chih Tung, the former has gone into retirement, the latter has died; and, still more recently, Tuan Fang, next perhaps in ability to these men, has been forced into retirement for trivial reasons. The Prince Regent, father of the infant Emperor, though unquestionably a man of high character and purpose, has not yet shown himself possessed of the qualities needful to the head of an empire of four hundred million people.

To enable the people of China to meet this situation, and make the present moment the beginning not only of a new, but of a better, period in her history, the West has much that it might give.

China needs our Western science. She is aware that she needs it to develop her material resources, to open her mines and build her railroads. But, in fact, she needs it even more to change the mental attitude of centuries, and train her young men to ask as the fundamental question, not as heretofore, "What are the teachings of the sages of the past?" but "What are the facts, what is the truth?" China needs a knowledge of the history of the great civilization of the world to guide her in the great task of creating a new Chinese civilization that shall not only be better than the old civilization of China, but better, perhaps, than any that Western nations have yet produced.

China needs all that we know about education and the art of educating. In her discarded system of education the teacher held a place of high honor, but he was not a teacher in our sense of the word. The new education demands a new type of teaching. China needs all that we have learned in the field of the social sciences, from national finance to family life and eugenics.

China needs also the best that we have to give in morals and religion. Confucianism sets on the whole a high moral standard, and the Christian missionaries have learned to regard it not as an evil to be uprooted, but a foundation to build on. But Christianity has something to give that Confucianism has not given and that China lacks. Family life in China, even among the upper classes, falls far below the best type of home that Christianity produces. The custom of concubinage, common among the well-to-do, is not conducive to a high type of home life. Leading officials of China, who were among those young men who came to America in the seventies to be educated, were unanimous in expressing to us the judgment that Chinese students coming to America to study now, should come in boyhood and be placed in American homes, urging it on the express ground that America's Christian home life is the best thing she has to give to China. Ancestor worship looks attractive from a distance, and in contrast with our Western lack of reverence for parents. But the point of view of which it is a part has unfortunate consequences. Children must marry early that the parents may have numerous descendants to worship them. But a burdensome child may be disposed of at a parent's will. Infanticide, especially of girls, though greatly diminished since the coming of Christian missionaries, is still too prevalent, and is not a punishable crime. Girls of twelve or fourteen are still sold by their parents as household slaves, bringing \$5 or \$10 apiece. The debt we owe to our ancestors we are taught to pay to our posterity. It is the keynote of a progressive civilization that each generation toils and sacrifices to make life better for the next. China, missing this note, still turns the stream of progress back upon itself. Setting out to create for herself a new and more glorious future, she needs, above all things, a morality that looks to the future and makes men of the present willing to sacrifice themselves for the sake of the future.

The distinctly religious element of Christianity also, its conception of a personal God who is a reality in the life of men, and is worthy to be trusted and loved as the Heavenly Father—this and the inspiration and empowerment to noble living that it affords, Confucianism fails to furnish. If we offer them the best we have in our science, history and economics, we can not forbear to offer them also the best we have in morals and religion.

The evils of Western civilization have already found their way into the East. The pagan elements that linger still in our Western, nominally Christian, civilization, we have forced upon them. Our military spirit, our rudeness of manner, our contemptuous disregard of the rights and feelings of others who are less aggressive, our habits of intemperance—by these the Western nations are already well known in the East, and there is no prospect that we can at once abate their evil influence. The open question is whether we shall, with our worst, give our best, by the gift of our best atone for the evil we have done in sending our worst, and at length displace the evil with the good.

The answer to this question lies largely with America. We are not chiefly responsible for the evil the West has done the East. We have enough indeed to repent of in our treatment of the Chinese who have come to our shores, and we have but imperfectly atoned for it by our return of a portion of the Boxer indemnity. But, on the whole, our record is a rela-

tively clean one. We have not at least forced opium on China at the mouth of the cannon, and are not, save as partners in the international settlements at Shanghai and Amoy, owners of Chinese soil.

There is in Shanghai an American University Club, composed of graduates and former students of American colleges. Of the sixty or more members, ten or twelve are Chinese. When, in February, 1909, it applied for the privilege of holding its annual dinner in the banquet hall of the German Club, of Shanghai, it was refused on the ground that no Chinese of any rank whatever was allowed to set his foot inside the clubhouse. But when the University Club sat down to dinner, in the leading hotel of the city, the Chinese members sat with the Americans, and no speech was more frequently or heartily applauded than that of one of these American-educated Chinese.

China distrusts all Occidentals, but Americans a little less than others, and has reason for both elements of this feeling. Alike through the official representatives of our nation, and through American missionaries, educators, and merchants, America has, in larger measure than any other nation, the opportunity to atone for the wrongs the East has suffered at the hands of the West, to help China acquire those elements of our civilization that will make her new civilization strong and good, and to convince the East that the Christian nations of the West are not, in fact, barbarians, and that Christian civilization is really worthy of their admiration and adoption.

This situation presents to us, as Americans, a clearly defined issue. Shall we on the one hand, following what has been too often the practice of Western nations in relation to the East, look upon this as an opportune moment to exploit China for our own benefit? Or shall we, in accordance with the policy that the better sentiment of the nation has approved in respect to Cuba and the Philippines, and the precedent set by our return to China of the excess of the Boxer indemnity above a just amount, regard this as our opportunity of applying to China the Golden Rule, which we approve and to some extent practice in relations between man and man? The practical answer that we give to this question will go far to indicate to what extent we have become a Christian nation, to what extent we are still pagans and barbarians. If to continue to influence China means only to export to her the vices of Western civilization, then, for China's sake and our own, the sooner we withdraw the better. But if to the elements of her strength we can add those elements of our religion and civilization by virtue of which we may claim to be at least a semi-civilized and semi-Christian nation, then, to do this will be immensely for China's advantage and for ours.

CONCILIATION IN CHINA

An Example of International Conciliation in the Far East

BY THE REV. GILBERT REID, D.D.,

DIRECTOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF CHINA

THE peace of the world is a mighty principle dependent on the spirit of conciliation that exists between peoples, nations, races, and religions. The principle, to be effective, must have behind it a personality; to speak more properly, the principle must be embodied in a personality, as a living force within, shown forth in living, beneficent activities. Greater than the plan is the person. Superior to any beautiful theory is the force of a living, throbbing, sympathetic person. For centuries the nations of the world had a realization of a great many universal principles, though they themselves in their actual practice confined these principles to a limited territory and to a specific time. It was when the ideal man came into the world that it was fitting that the song sung in the heavens was of peace and good-will, for then, for the first time, there lived a person, who included in his sympathy and in the scope of his mission, the world-wide application of the principle of peace and the spirit of conciliation. Though He lived within the limited area of the exclusive people of Judea, yet the personality of the Perfect Man has made an impress on all the nations of the world, and His teachings, exemplified in such a personality, have reached unto the ends of the earth.

The peace of the whole world centers on the problems and events that are taking place in the Far East. In so far as there is shown forth in the relations of China with the rest of the world, and in the relations of the whole world with China, the spirit of conciliation, in so far will there exist peace among these nations of East and West. There, too, the principle of peace and the spirit of conciliation need to be shown forth in strong personalities, in order to be effective and to be beneficial. There must be the intermingling of this principle and this spirit rather than any limiting of its obligation to one side or the other, to one nation or to another.

CONCILIATION AND RELIGION.—If it be true that our Western civilization is superior to the ancient civilization of the Chinese, or if even we think that with us rests the superiority, then it is for us, first of all, in our approach to the Chinese, under the various conditions of modern life, to show forth in our lives, and in all of our relations with them, the spirit of conciliation, that thereby there may exist between us and them true peace. Perhaps more important than all else is the spirit of conciliation in our relation with the religious teachings and problems of China. Our spirit must be constructive rather than destructive. We must come to them for the purpose of helping rather than for the purpose of hindering. If we antagonize them, their opposition will be aroused against us, and riots and disturbances, and even massacres, will be the outcome. If we win them by the attractiveness of our conciliatory disposition, we have won the day, and there will be peace in the land, and very largely peace throughout the world. To lay the main emphasis on any form of proselytizing, is to at once arouse suspicion and create antagonism. If we rest our work as religious teachers on the worth of our teachings and the blamelessness of our own lives, then those who before were hostile will become friends and those who were suspicious will be persuaded and convinced. By an experience of nearly thirty years, this view has become my firm conviction.

In Longfellow's "Hiawatha," we find the words that may be applied to the religious questions to-day, to be studied and solved in the Far East, of those

"Who believes that in all ages
Every human heart is human,
That in even savage bosoms
There are longings, yearnings, strivings,
For the good they comprehend not,
That the feeble hands and helpless,
Groping blindly in the darkness,
Touch God's right hand in that darkness,
And are lifted up and strengthened."

"In every nation, he that feareth God and worketh righteousness, is acceptable unto Him."

There should, moreover, be conciliation in our approach to the political systems and ideas of China. Long before there was any civilization with the Anglo-Saxon race, there was an intelligent and powerful civilization in eastern Asia. In their own classics there have been wise teachings as to social and political problems. For us of the West to come to the Chinese with our radical and democratic ideas, in contempt, of the conservatism and limited autocracy of China of the past, may be acceptable to the revolutionary element that has already imbibed ideas from the West by living among us, but may not be for the greatest welfare of China as a nation. We should recognize the good features of the Chinese political system as already well adapted to the sentiments and conditions of the Chinese people. In our teachings as to political science, sociology, and other branches of modern learning, we should learn to adapt them to the conditions as they exist in China. For this reason I have been a friend of the conservative element, as much as the progressive. "Make haste slowly."

IN RELATION TO SOCIAL CUSTOMS.—Once more, there should be the spirit of conciliation with reference to the social customs of the Chinese. It may be that our own customs, manners, and code of etiquette are best for us, but that does not imply that their adoption would be of any value or any charm to the Chinese. For us to insist that they shall not only learn our language and our sciences, and accept our religion, but also adopt all of the ways of Western life, would only mean that they, with all their progressiveness, would merely be denationalized; they would neither be Oriental nor Occidental; they would be an offensive, mongrel, conglomeration of the worst features of Eastern and Western life. Better far for them to retain that which is best in their own excellent system of ceremony, than to be lowered by the familiarity of Western intercourse.

Taking only these three forms of national life, the religious, political, and the social, as spheres for the exhibition of our conciliatory spirit, there must be, on the other side, an equal degree of responsiveness. To our own conciliation there should be added the conciliation of the Chinese themselves. For the most part, it may be said that if we are conciliatory to them, they will be conciliatory to us. The wise teacher of the past once said: "He that hath friends, must show himself friendly." Another version might well read: "He that shows himself friendly, will have friends." In fact, this is the teaching of the ancient philosopher, Mencius, who said: "Reverence others, and they will reverence you; love others, and they will love you." There is this mysterious interaction in all the relations that exist in the complicated problems that are being solved by all the Governments of the world out there in the Far East. Vast troubles, awful catastrophes, have befallen Western peoples in their experiences with the Chinese, not always

through the depravity and cruelty of the Chinese, but through our own haughtiness, high-handedness, and offensive intermeddling. We may certainly say that there would have been no Boxer uprising, if there had not been the encroachments of foreign Powers. To keep the peace with China, there is no other power so effective as that of conciliation, lived out in the lives of individuals, of nations, and of governments.

Besides this conciliation on our part toward China, and on the part of China toward us, there is also required that there be a similar degree of conciliation in our relations as "outsiders" with one another. The question at once assumes in more ways than one an international character. All the great Powers not only need to be friendly with China, and China to be friendly with the great Powers, but they need to be friendly with one another. Discord and collision between the Powers will only work strife in China itself. It is well for the sake of peace that there should be alliances between two or more Powers, but the only guarantee of permanent peace is for all the Powers to agree to the principles of conciliation, arbitration, amity, and good-will. The United States in maintaining peace with China, and preserving the integrity of China, may seek the assistance of Great Britain or of Germany, but it would be far better to have the unanimous agreement of all the Powers—Anglo-Saxon, Teutonic, Latin, Slavic, and Japanese.

ORGANIZATION OF THE INSTITUTE.—With all that has been stated above, it will be easily seen that there must be unification of personalities, all imbued with the same spirit of conciliation, in all the relations of life—unification in one, organic whole. In 1897, to give a practical illustration of the ideas that have already been here enunciated, when the Chinese Government gave its formal sanction for the establishment in China of an "institute of learning," the Dutch Minister made the suggestion that the institute be international, and if so, he would commend it to his Government and its colonies. This suggestion was confirmed by the most learned American who has lived in China, the Rev. Dr. W. A. P. Martin. The suggestion was a happy inspiration. From that time on, the institute has been known as the International Institute of China. In the effort to internationalize such an enterprise to be carried out in China, the Chinese themselves have not been excluded, as in the case of so many schemes brought forward by diplomacy. Neither has any one nation, however great the difference or the rivalry, been left out of this attempt to harmonize and organize these various conflicting elements in their still more conflicting attitude to China. On the advisory council of this institute there have been the official representatives of China, the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Russia, Japan, Italy, Austria, Belgium, and the Netherlands. On the executive committee there are persons who are not only Chinese, but Japanese, American, British, French, German, and Russian. There is here, at least, a laudable attempt to conciliation. And it may be affirmed that there has never been a particle of discord or ill-feeling existing among those who thus meet together to confer on matters of the one organization for the common weal of East and West.

It can be easily seen that with such differences of nationalities there will also be differences of religious thought and belief. Here, then, those that are thus associated together must be tolerant and conciliatory in their attitude to one another's religious views. So also in the differences of political views and social customs. Without emphasis placed on the essentials, the universals, it is impossible to get one's own mental conceptions into a harmonious and conciliatory attitude toward the opinions, beliefs, and practices of others. All along, this institute has laid great stress on those things on which we may all agree and which make for peace.

SOME PRACTICAL RESULTS.—Several years ago a great centenary missionary conference was held in the city of Shanghai. At that time the officers of our institute, without regard to creed or nationality, united in inviting the delegates and visitors to a reception on our grounds. There were present over eight hundred persons from the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries, and the Netherlands, as well as from all of the Provinces of China. The ladies of the foreign community, of different nationalities and creeds, decorated twenty-seven tea-tables, where they waited on the guests who came from the East and the West, the North and the South. Greetings were given the missionaries of the Protestant denominations by official representatives of two viceroys and three governors, as well as from other distinguished Chinese who were officers of the institute. It was a rare occasion of cosmopolitanism, of international good-fellowship, of conciliation, concord, and good-will. Since then, on more than one occasion, there have been similar gatherings and most enjoyable receptions, wherein the same cosmopolitan spirit has been exhibited. In the busy city of Shanghai, the busiest city in the Far East, there is through such means at least a miniature illustration of that broad spirit of conciliation which ultimately will be world-wide. At one of these receptions, as a fitting way of showing forth this mutual friendliness and esteem, there were two tables presided over by American ladies, with the tables adorned in American fashion, one other presided over by British ladies, one other by German ladies, one other by French ladies, one other by Japanese ladies, and another by Chinese ladies, each table with some of the distinctive marks of decoration of a particular country. It is a small but none the less effective way of exhibiting conciliation.

In a more practical way, there have also been formed in connection with the work of this institute separate committees for mutual consultation and discussion. One committee is of Chinese and foreign merchants, eleven of whom are Chinese and eleven foreigners, namely, two British, two Americans, two Germans, two Japanese, one Frenchman, one Russian, one Netherlander. They not only meet to consider questions of trade through unanimity of policy, but also, whenever so requested, to offer their services for friendly mediation in case of dispute between Chinese and foreigners. Another committee consists of Chinese and foreign educationalists. A third committee consists of Chinese and foreigners interested in questions of religion and in the peaceful prosecution of the missionary work. In all these there is afforded an opportunity for the practice and illustration of the spirit of conciliation. Besides, there has been formed a Ladies' International Teacup Club, where the spirit of conciliation may be put into practice by respectable and cultured ladies, as well as by the men. We of the management act for the rest in daily efforts to break down barriers and bring about better understanding and coöperation.

Amid the individual **eccentricities**, **national jealousies**, and religious bigotries that exist, there is no great difficulty to stir up in one way or another, among the populous people of China, feelings of hatred, resentment, animosity, and even warfare and bloodshed; but many agencies are needed to help preserve and promote the great cause of peace. It may not be without interest to have learned that there has already been attempted in China a practical mode of illustrating the spirit of conciliation, through sympathetic personalities, and an international organization.

THE JAPANESE WAR SCARE

BY HON. JOHN W. FOSTER

FORMERLY SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES

THE renewed talk of an impending war between Japan and the United States, which seems to have received a fresh impetus of late, is worse than nonsense—it is wicked. It is absolutely without foundation and without reason. There is no danger of war, but there is danger that the continued agitation, especially by men of standing and by the responsible press, may lead to irritation and estrangement where there has been heretofore harmony and warm friendship.

It is hardly conceivable that hostilities between these two peoples should be the culmination of more than half a century of active good-will and cordial and intimate relations; a period marked by many acts of international friendship. Besides the notable event of Commodore Perry's mission, our Government for many years stood alone in advocacy of the release of Japan from its extra-territorial vassalage to the Western Powers. It returned a war indemnity which other Powers withheld. Japan showed its appreciation of our friendship and its confidence in us above the European Powers by entrusting its interests in China and Russia to our ambassadors and consuls during its war with those countries. Americans contributed largely to the development of Japan in modern government and society. Many Japanese have been educated in American schools and have returned to take a prominent part in administration, cherishing cordial feelings toward our country. Considerable numbers of American missionaries are laboring in all parts of Japan. Not long ago the whole body of them signed a statement that the Japanese people had faith in the traditional justice and equity of the United States, and that they regard the Americans as their truest and best friends. Recently the leading journal in Yokohama said: "Before engaging in a war with America, Japan would have to divest herself of the strongest sentiment of friendship which she entertains toward any foreign country."

It is true the foregoing are merely sentimental reasons for preserving the peace, but they are not without weight among intelligent and well-meaning people. Between nations entertaining such sentiments nothing but a question of the gravest importance can lead them into hostilities. There is no such question existing or likely to arise between us and Japan. Immigration is the only matter about which there has been any indication of divergence of views, and that should not present any trouble between the authorities of the two Governments. Under international law and usage every nation has the right to determine for itself what class of foreign immigrants it will admit into its territory. Japan has recognized by treaty the exercise of this right as against laborers, and has undertaken to restrain such immigration. If she should fail at any time to discharge this duty, the United States would be entirely justified in exercising it, and there would be no occasion for displeasure on the part of Japan unless it should be exercised harshly and with injustice.

The Japanese are a patriotic and brave people, but they are not, as is alleged, an aggressive nation, as an examination of their history shows. For more than six hundred years, up to the war with China in 1894, Japan had lived in peace with all foreign nations. No country in Europe or America can point to any such record. The war with China was not an aggressive one on her part. Li Hung Chang, the great viceroy, during the course of the peace negotiations at Shimonoseki, declared that it ought not to have

occurred, and that he did all that was possible to avert it, but the authorities at Peking overruled him.

The conflict with Russia, ten years later, regarded from a political standpoint, seemed inevitable. It was Russia that deprived Japan of the most valued of her conquests, over China. She was forced to surrender Port Arthur and the Liaotung Peninsula, which she had purchased with an enormous sacrifice of blood and treasure, and underwent a humiliation in the hour of her triumph over the beaten foe such as no self-respecting nation could be expected to forget or forgive. The immediate cause of the breaking out of hostilities was Korea. Japan could not permit the occupation or control by Russia of that helpless and dependent country without the ultimate loss of her own independence. The world cannot reproach her, under the circumstances, for her courageous challenge of the Giant of the North. And the close of that war afforded her an opportunity to manifest her regard and respect for the United States. In the hour of her triumph, when she had driven the last Russian army from the field, she heeded the call of President Roosevelt for peace and sent her plenipotentiary to negotiate on our soil.

No nation controlled by sane rulers and advisers ever enters willingly upon a war which is likely to prove disastrous to its interests. Japan could hope for no adequate compensation as the result of a conflict with us. Even if it were possible to destroy our navy, her forces could make no permanent lodgment on our shores. But her military and naval men understand full well that it would be a hopeless task to send a fleet across the broad Pacific to invade our territory or to attack the American navy. Besides, a war with us would mean the destruction or paralysis of her vast merchant marine, built up with so much cost, time, and labor. Lines of Japanese-owned steamships of most modern construction are now maintained to Siberia, Korea, China, Formosa, India, Australia, Europe, Seattle, San Francisco, and Spanish-American ports. These lines represent a vast amount of Japanese invested capital, large Government subsidies, and the employment of many seamen. Japanese statesmen fully understand that in engaging in a war with the United States they would leave in the rear two inveterate enemies, Russia and China, ready to avenge their defeats.

Even a bankrupt nation under patriotic impulses might rush into a conflict which meant certain destruction, in order to defend its honor or its independence; but wise rulers usually do not deliberately go to war with a foreign Power without first counting the cost, and being assured that they have resources sufficient to maintain the contest. Japan is in no condition to carry on a war with the United States for financial reasons. The Russian war strained its credit to the utmost. It now carries a national debt heavier in proportion to its population and resources than almost any other nation, being \$21.50 for every inhabitant; and the taxation is estimated to be 20 per cent to 25 per cent of the people's income. Baron Shibuzawa, the head of the commercial delegation which recently visited our country, says: "The present rate of taxation in Japan is indeed extremely high, and more than the people at large can bear." A similar declaration is that of the *Kokumin Shimbun*, a leading journal of Tokyo: "The heavy debts of Japan are more than the nation can endure." Notwithstanding the Imperial Diet is usually subservient to the wishes of the Government, the last budget of the Cabinet was reduced by it \$5,000,000, and a further reduction of the land tax is demanded. A war with the United States would call for a larger financial outlay than any which the Island Kingdom has ever heretofore experienced. In the present condition of its revenues, well might the late Ambassador to the United States declare, "War with America is impossible."

There are other controlling considerations which make a war with the United States on the part of Japan suicidal madness. It finds not only its best but the chief market for its export products in our country. To destroy the silk and the tea industry of Japan would be to bring incalculable distress upon its people. Over 70 per cent of this trade comes to us, and its destruction would mean bankruptcy to the leading industries.

Japan is largely dependent for its food supply on foreign sources. The islands proper only have in cultivation 25,000 square miles* (and this largely in tea and silk), less than the area of a single one of our smaller States, with a population of approximately 45,000,000. It may readily be seen how a war with our country might materially affect this supply, bring great distress upon the inhabitants, and seriously cripple the Government.

The great need of Japan—in fact, a necessity to its existence as a nation—is a long era of peace to enable it to carry out its administrative program, develop its resources, and establish its credit on a secure basis. In addition to its internal problems, which are by no means insignificant, it now has on its hands the assimilation of the large island of Formosa with its Chinese population, the government of the suzerain kingdom of Korea, and the administration of its complicated interests in Manchuria, a heritage of its late war with Russia. These are sufficient to tax to the utmost the wisdom of its statesmen, and are likely to need the support of its army and navy. It would be the height of folly to imperil this program by a war with the United States..

It has been suggested that the alliance of Great Britain with Japan, which still exists under treaty stipulations, would enable Japan to act with a free hand toward us. This alliance cannot change the conditions above described which make war on the part of Japan almost impossible, but the British alliance can never lead to a war with America. What it is likely to do is to support Japan in its opposition to certain projects for the exploitation of Manchuria. The competition or strife for concessions in China should not be permitted, and is not likely to ruffle the friendly relations of the respective Governments, and certainly ought not to result in hostilities. The British-Japanese alliance should more properly be regarded as a guaranty of peace in the Pacific. Neither the present nor any possible Ministry in London would encourage or permit an aggressive war by Japan upon the United States. If the state of affairs in the Far East in itself did not counsel against it, certainly the interests of the two English-speaking countries on the Atlantic and with coterminous boundaries on this continent would positively forbid it. The two most friendly nations on the earth are and should ever be the United States and Great Britain. Hence we must interpret the Anglo-Japanese alliance as a pledge of peace for us as well as for the allies.

The foregoing review of affairs in the Far East has been given in the hope that it may quiet the fears of any Americans who have been made anxious by certain of our orators or after-dinner speakers and by press reports that a war with Japan was certain and was imminent. But such a review is a work of supererogation if there exists between the two peoples a sincere and cordial friendship. Certainly with the great mass of Americans there is no other sentiment toward Japan than the most friendly feeling. No one who will investigate with an open mind the state of public sentiment in Japan can reach any other conclusion than that a similar feeling of friendship prevails there toward America. The Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Komura, doubtless reflected the real sentiments of both his Government and people when he said recently: "The friendship

*Indebtedness is acknowledged for a number of facts and statistics to a recent publication in Japan by Rev. H. Loomis, long a resident there.

between Japan and the United States is of traditional standing, and it is absolutely essential to the common interests of both states not only to maintain unimpaired those sentiments of amity, but to extend and strengthen them by every possible means." And his latest utterance is still more emphatic: "I am convinced there is nothing in American-Japanese relations to cause uneasiness. War is inconceivable. It would be a crime without excuse or palliation." Our late Ambassador at Tokyo, Gen. Luke Wright, said on his return: "The talk of war between this country and Japan isn't even respectable nonsense. Japan no more wants a war with us than we want one with her; and the idea that there is an impending conflict is ridiculous." The testimony of these distinguished statesmen will have more weight with the American people than the orators and writers who are clamoring for a larger army and a greater navy to resist the coming Japanese invasion.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

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THE CAPTURE AND DESTRUCTION OF COMMERCE AT SEA AND TAXATION AND ARMAMENTS



BY

F. W. HIRST

Editor of "The Economist," London

NOVEMBER, 1910, No. 36

American Association for International Conciliation
Sub-station 84 (501 West 116th Street)
New York City

The Executive Committee of the Association for International Conciliation wish to arouse the interest of the American people in the progress of the movement for promoting international peace and relations of comity and good fellowship between nations. To this end they print and circulate documents giving information as to the progress of these movements, in order that individual citizens, the newspaper press, and organizations of various kinds may have readily available accurate information on these subjects.

For the information of those who are not familiar with the work of the Association for International Conciliation, a list of its publications will be found on pages 32.

PREFATORY NOTE

In the discussion which followed my Address, and in criticisms since offered by various organs of opinion both at home and in Germany, I have been accused of inconsistency. If, it has been said, the right of capturing and destroying merchant ships and merchandise is valueless, how can its relinquishment help to abate the competition in naval armaments? If Great Britain has most to fear from this practice, how can you hope to give pleasure to Germany by offering to abandon it as part of a general scheme of proportional disarmament? The dilemma is unreal, and the inconsistency only superficial. Every new and costly weapon for destroying armies or fleets, from the aeroplane to the submarine, is now advertised and recommended to Parliament and Press as an additional security for peace. It is the business of every Army Council and every Admiralty to play upon the simple citizen's fear of war, and to represent each new demand upon the taxpayer's purse, each additional million transferred from the service of industry and poverty, to the service of war as the irreducible minimum of national security. Our Admiralty is no whit better nor worse than the German Admiralty. Each has its attendant Press, its chorus of pushing and impatient contractors, whose powerful support is strictly dependent upon receipts and promises. Each lives and thrives and expands upon the fear inspired by the other's programme. There is something very like a tacit agreement against which the unorganised everybody who suffers on both sides of the North Sea proves a helpless nobody.

PROPERTY AND COMMERCE IN NAVAL WAR

Address before the Royal Philosophical Society
of Glasgow, 1910

The Royal Philosophical Society at Glasgow has done me the honour of asking for an address upon a subject, which is not only capable of illuminating the progress of law and the history of civilisation, but is also of high moment at this crisis in our affairs. For crisis, I think it must be called, if we face fairly and squarely the facts and figures of our new Naval competition with Germany. Fifteen years ago our Naval expenditure had not risen to £20,000,000; now it is already above £40,000,000; and there is also a growth of £10,000,000 in our expenditure on the Army. In the meantime there has been a great increase in the military expenditure of the German Empire, and its Naval Estimates have risen from quite a small sum to something over £20,000,000. The German Navy, though not so large in tonnage as the French, is rapidly becoming more powerful and efficient. But I need not dwell upon facts which are familiar to you all. Let us merely remind ourselves that, while the tonnage of our battleships is more than double that of the German, and the tonnage of our armoured cruisers is four times that of the German, it is comparatively easy for a foreign country with a similar taxable capacity and a much larger population to force the pace, especially if our statesmen under pressure from various quarters cling to the Two-

Power Standard or a two to one ratio of new construction as a permanent ideal and policy. First of all let me observe that great statesmen of both parties in the 'Forties, the 'Fifties and the 'Sixties, and even the 'Seventies of last century, considered that the security of Great Britain was amply provided for, so long as the strength of our Navy was 30 per cent. above that of the next Naval Power; which then happened to be France.

In spite of severe scares and panics that ratio was maintained with the consent and approval of great party leaders like Palmerston, Disraeli, Derby, Lord John Russell and Gladstone; and for a good part of the period the Duke of Wellington was responsible for the defence of the country. But for some reason or other, while the pressure of expenditure and taxation has been growing rapidly in other directions, we have in the last twenty years greatly enlarged our notion of Naval supremacy by trebling what some call our margin of security, others our national premium of insurance. I am not specially concerned to criticise this change of standard. It is sometimes attributed to the fear of a hostile combination; but I would point out that, should we be attacked, it is plainly to the interests of Great Britain that the neutral Powers should be strong enough to protect their commerce with us. Against the possibility of combination among belligerents we may set the certainty of strong and friendly neutrals. At this conjuncture, for example, of the three next Naval Powers (which are fairly equal on paper), two, the United States and France, may almost be considered in the light of allies.

But assuming for the sake of argument that we ought to maintain a ratio of two to one against Germany, then surely so much the more should we try to persuade the German Government to adopt a moderate view of its Naval requirements. Otherwise our finances are at the mercy of Germany. If the German Government likes it can at any moment force an enormous increase in our Naval Estimates. By laying down only six "Dreadnoughts" the German Admiralty can compel us to lay down twelve. From this point of view, you will see, I think, there is a tactical advantage in the older plan (the 30 per cent. margin of superiority) pursued in the days when France was the dreaded rival. But however that may be, and whatever proportion be chosen, we are obviously interested very deeply in coming to some arrangement for the arrest of armaments. Whether we aim at a proportion of two to one, or seven to four, or five to three, or three to two, we should plainly be just as strong from a Naval point of view and much happier financially if, for example, we had twenty "Dreadnoughts" to Germany's ten, eleven, twelve, thirteen, fourteen or fifteen, than if we had forty "Dreadnoughts" to Germany's twenty, twenty-two, twenty-four, twenty-six, twenty-eight or thirty. For we get the same amount of security at half the cost, and if the income tax may be considered as paying for the Navy it is a question whether it should be doubled or halved. And the same reasoning applies with almost equal force to Germany, for unpleasant as is the state of our public finances, the Exchequer of Imperial Germany is in an even worse plight. Our deficit this year is new and abnormal; but for many years past the German

deficits have been chronic. In fact, our rival has been borrowing at the rate of something like £20,000,000 a year to fill up the gap between revenue and expenditure. I know there are opposing schools of thought in this country which agree in loving taxation for taxation's sake, and so applaud new expenditure even on unproductive objects in the hope that it will promote some favourite hobby of taxation. But I think most of us will prefer a maxim of the late Lord Beaconsfield that "the more you reduce the burdens of the people in time of peace, the greater will be your strength when the hour of peril comes." In other words a financial reserve is, at least, as important for war and much more conducive to the enjoyment of peace, the removal of slums and destitution, the expansion of manufactures and commerce than an accumulation of armaments and a diversion of thousands of men from useful occupations into the Army or the Fleet.

Allow me to conclude this part of the subject by a sentence from a speech of Lord John Russell—a great Whig statesman who was very far removed from what is called the peace-at-any-price party:—

"It is by moderate establishments, by rendering such establishments good and efficient, by attending to everything which cannot easily be originated or replaced; it is by such a system, and by relying on the greatness of the country and on the spirit of our people that you will be most formidable in war, and not by any new-fangled system of increased Estimates during a time of peace."

If, then, there are any in this hall who do not wish for an income tax graduated upwards from 1s. to 3s. or 4s. in the £; and likewise if there are any who do not wish to see the shipping and commercial interests of this great Emporium jeopardised, and its trade

diminished by a general tariff, designed partly for revenue, partly to prohibit imports and partly to diminish them, there is no subject that demands and deserves such eager and close attention as this which you have chosen for me, because it affords, in my judgment, a very practical way of escape from a course which, as Sir Edward Grey has said, is leading us rapidly towards the Bankruptcy Court. Whichever party is in power we are faced by a stiff budget of taxes, and this budget must grow and grow with the burden of armaments. The essential point is that our budget is a German budget, and the German budget is an English budget. I mean that each budget is dictated by fear of the other, or at any rate the growing estimates and taxes on either side of the North Sea are defended by professional advocates as purely defensive armaments. German statesmen point to the English menace and ours to the German. A reasonable arrangement would relieve both countries of a dangerously high level of taxation and of a dangerously low level of credit. Without one we are drifting to Niagara, like the two men who quarrelled in the boat until it was too late.

The great man who philosophised on the causes of the *Wealth of Nations* in the lecture rooms of your University, told his students that all commerce carried on betwixt any two countries must necessarily be for the advantage of both. At that time France was our traditional enemy. But Adam Smith taught in his Glasgow lectures a breach with tradition:—

“It were happy both for this country and France, that all national prejudices were rooted out, and a free and uninterrupted commerce established.”

Substitute Germany for France, ponder those pleas for national retrenchment, those protests against the accumulation of debt, that occur in the familiar pages of the *Wealth of Nations*, and you will agree, I am sure, with me, that if your great philosopher were here with us to-night the whole weight of his authority would be thrown in favour of an Anglo-German Agreement.

But before we can see our way to an understanding we must see how the misunderstanding has arisen. We cannot hope to remove friction until we have discovered its causes. That the Governments of two great nations which have never been at war, but have often fought side by side, closely allied by race, language and history, united by a vast mutual commerce, and by all the complexities of modern banking, insurance and exchange—that each of these Governments I say, should be piling up taxes and debts for the sole and avowed purpose of protecting its shores and its merchant shipping from the other's attack, looks on the face of it too absurd to be true. Yet hardly a day passes but some question or speech in Parliament reminds us that it is so. Germany is arming against us, and we are arming against Germany. For two years the German panic has raged in England and the English panic in Germany. In both countries official, semi-official and private plans of attack and defence are freely circulated. True, Germany is very nearly the best customer of British industry; true, we are very nearly the best customers of German industries; true, the suspension of commerce, let alone war, would deprive tens of thousands on both sides of the North Sea of their livelihood. Yes, but what if those

who expect war, or want it, have got the ear of the Government? Perhaps a war with Germany is impossible. Perhaps it is as absurd as a duel between a shark and a boar. But we have got this fact—that for two years it has been the staple of the Yellow Press, and that in those two years our Naval expenditure has risen by £8,000,000, which represents the locking up of £275,000,000 of capital, or the annual interest on more than the whole cost of the Boer war.

But I shall not argue this question further. There is really no dispute. Everyone agrees, or practically everyone. Outside a lunatic asylum there is scarcely any disinterested person but will say that the friction with Germany is a calamity, a dire menace to capital and labour. Shall we then fold our hands and treat it as inevitable? *The Times* and the *Daily Mail*, I fear, look forward to war. A more official journal urges us to proceed towards bankruptcy with a gentlemanly dignity and take every fresh stroke of the taxgatherer's lash without wincing. We must not propose an accommodation to Germany lest Germany should refuse; still less can we afford to make any concession of which the Naval experts disapprove.

Well, I think this mood will alter when the rich and influential classes begin to comprehend the real facts. There is a point—perhaps it has been reached—when a quarrel, or a point of punctilio, becomes so costly that common sense steps in and the foes patch up their differences by a friendly arrangement. It usually happens in such cases that there are faults on both sides, and, of course, at first each side sees only the faults of the other. You all know all about the faults of the Germans, how they are the aggressors, how they

are forcing the pace, how they are building a Navy in excess of their requirements, and how they have turned a deaf ear to diplomatic inquiries.

Well, the German people have candid friends in the Reichstag and in the German press, who tell them all this. But there is another side to the shield and we had better have a look at it. A rising politician, an old college friend of mine, Mr. F. E. Smith, is apt, on foreign questions, to take what some may think an ultra patriotic or chauvinistic point of view. But he has the gift of imagination as well as a wide knowledge of international law and history, and I will, with your permission, quote what he said in the House of Commons on April 21st of last year:—

“If I were a German I would never be content, so long as the right to destroy private commerce exists, until my nation had a Navy which would make it impossible for that power of destruction to be exercised. If we could go to Germany and say we had abandoned this practice which jeopardises the commerce that she, as a strong nation is entitled to protect, and if in spite of the removal of that risk she still continued to build “Dreadnoughts,” the position of this country would be a very different one. If we had withdrawn from the right to destroy the commerce of our rivals, and in face of that Germany continued to expand her Navy (which on that hypothesis, could only be for purposes of aggression) I should not shrink from any sacrifice.

“Until we have made that offer, and given that guarantee of our good faith, we are not entitled even to feel surprised that Germany should feel as justified in protecting her Mercantile Marine as we in protecting ours.”

When a politician, who demands eight “Dreadnoughts” a year and instructs his constituents in the art of taxing the foreigners, uses such language we may be sure that our German friends are not quite so black as they are painted.

What, then, is this practice of destroying commerce, and what is the history of the subject ?

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which saw the dawn of modern commerce, the chief sea-faring nations, the first navigators and discoverers of unknown seas, claimed exclusive rights of navigation along the trade routes which they deemed to have made their own. The Portuguese, the Genoese, the Venetians, the Norwegians, the Danes and the English all made pretensions of this sort; but after the defeat of the Armada, England became for a time the most formidable claimant to maritime dominion. The Portuguese, Spanish and English claims were obstinately opposed by Dutch sailors and jurists; for Holland was the world's carrier: The *Mare Liberum* of Grotius (1608) was written primarily against the Portuguese claim to the Indian trade, but also, it is said, to support a protest of the States General against the English title to a monopoly of fishing and trading in the English Seas. But the book goes far beyond the brief. The great founder of international jurisprudence argued the high theme that the sea is in its very nature insusceptible of private ownership or monopoly, as being a grand international highway, incapable of occupation, no less necessary to the life of nations than is the air to the life of individuals. John Selden, our learned patriot, penned in reply the *Mare Clausum* (1635), described by Charles Butler as "a noble exertion of a vigorous mind, fraught with profound and extensive jurisdiction." It is the first and best of a long line of written fortifications by which our English jurists have defended, with obstinate skill, a constantly receding frontier of imaginary interests and vanishing privileges.

The first consequence of the freedom of the seas, a proposition now universally conceded in time of peace, is the right of all and each to trade and sail everywhere unmolested. The second consequence is the right of nations at war to fight in any part of the ocean. Obviously, if the first individual right to trade and navigate extends to times of war it may conflict with the second or national right to fight. But, originally, the second right, the liberty of fighting in any part of the sea, was claimed by individuals at all times. In Homeric days the trader was a low fellow who existed to be despoiled by the gentleman pirate. In those rare intervals when public wars ceased, the liberty of private war both by land and sea, was freely claimed and enjoyed; and private war at sea outlived private war on land. The knight errant died long before the pirate. And even after the decay of piracy, which began before the eighteenth century, the licensed pirate or privateer was maintained as an auxiliary to regular warfare at sea. Although the civilised Powers combined to suppress the pirate as "the enemy of the human race," and to protect mutual commerce in time of peace, they issued commissions and letters of marque and encouraged privateers to prey upon the merchant shipping of those against whom they had declared war, or even those against whom they had wished to make reprisals without levying war. The calling of the privateer was an honourable one, though the acts for which he was rewarded, had they been committed on land, would have sent him to the gallows. How often he overstepped the borderland of piracy you may discover in the letters of Sir Leoline

Jenkins, a learned naval judge who flourished in the time of Charles the Second.

At last by the Declaration of Paris of 1856, in which all the great Powers, except the United States, joined, privateering was formally abolished; but a civilised Power may still lawfully fit out cruisers for the sole purpose of preying upon the commerce of the enemy, and the prizes so captured are generally divided between the captain, officers and men of the captor. There was a clear moral distinction between the pirate and the privateer; for the pirate was like an ordinary thief who made no distinction between friend or foe, while the privateer could lawfully prey only upon ships and cargoes belonging to citizens of a country with which his own was at enmity. The issuing of letters of marque to privateers in sea war is just as if, when two nations fought on land, the Governments were to give licences to thieves to pick the pockets and burglar the houses of citizens of the enemy. The difference between a captain of a privateer and a captain in the Royal Navy whose ship is built and commissioned to prey upon merchant vessels, is a difference for the casuist rather than for the moralist or economist. To quote one of the leading authorities on British Naval prize law:—

“ It is, and has been, the invariable rule of the Crown in modern times to surrender the entire proceeds (of a prize) to the officers and men engaged in the capture. The general practice of Prize Courts is to order a sale of the vessel or goods on condemnation, and the sum thus realised is divided among the captors.”

True the Prize Court is a sort of tribunal, though it is more like an inquest than a Court of Law, its business being to decide whether the ship and cargo belong

to citizens of the Power with which we happen to be at war. But the Prize Court applied to privateers and cruisers alike, and the law was construed more strictly against privateers than against cruisers.

Critics of this practice have two questions to ask. First, is it morally right? Secondly, is it expedient? And this question of expediency may be considered either from the international standpoint, the well-being and interests of mankind, or from the national standpoint, the well-being and interests of Great Britain. First, one word about the moral philosophy of the subject. We are not at the beginning but at a rather late stage in the evolution of the laws of property in war time. Remember that if the German and British Governments declared war, the property of British citizens in Germany and of German citizens in Britain, would be perfectly safe. The branches of German banks in England and of British insurance companies in Germany, would not be confiscated: Interests and rents and profits would continue to be paid. Germans holding Consols would still receive their interest regularly. Legally no doubt contracts and insurances would not be enforceable in the courts during the war, but they would only be suspended, and they would be enforceable afterwards. A good deal of the £60,000,000 of trade passing between the two countries would continue to pass in neutral vessels through neutral countries like Holland and Russia. Public war, in fact, is a relation between States not between individuals, between armies and fleets not between non-combatants. There is nothing either in law or morality to prevent peaceful bargains in non-contraband goods or services being carried on between

the citizens of two countries at war. Governments in fact when they are at war want money and revenue more than ever, and they would be very foolish if they interfered with the trade, income and profits of those who pay the taxes and subscribe loans. If then we look merely at logic, morals and common sense, there is no reason why the shipping trade should be picked out for special punishment in time of war. The only general arguments for capturing and destroying the ships and cargoes of private citizens are: (1) That war ought to be made as terrible as possible; and (2) that it ought to be made as short as possible. The answer to the first is: (1) Then why not sack towns and put the inhabitants to the sword, and why not make the crew of a captured merchantman walk the plank? The answer to the second is that no one has been able to produce either from history or from reasoning any ground for supposing that either privateering or commerce destroying tends to abbreviate war. In the war of 1866 waged by Prussia and Italy against Austria, the combatants agreed that private property at sea and shipping should be immune from capture, and this was the shortest important war of modern times.

The fact is that this policy of commerce destruction is really moribund and obsolete. If practiced between two great commercial nations it would raise such an outcry and involve such injustices that I feel sure it would be dropped by mutual consent at an early stage of hostilities. Moreover, the modern cruiser is ill adapted for the business of privateering. Nevertheless, the maintenance of the right is highly mischievous, because it is a prime incentive to armaments in time

of peace and a prime cause of oppressive taxation. Statesmen and journalists found most of their arguments for increased expenditure on armaments upon the necessity for protecting commerce. To a greater or less extent they know that their plea is fraudulent, but it serves the purpose.

Let me here digress to give an illustration of the futile mischief that may result to shipping interests. It is history, and I take it from the eloquent and learned speech of Mr. Ambassador White, President of the American Commission at the First Hague Conference, in 1899. Mr. White said:—

“In the American Civil War only three of the Confederate cruisers did any effective work; their prizes amounted to 169 ships; the premium of insurance between the United States and Great Britain increased from 30s. per ton to 120s.; American merchant ships, aggregating nearly a million of tons, were driven under the British flag; and the final result was the almost total disappearance of the merchant Navy of the United States.”

The North did not privateer, but ended the war by blockade of Southern ports and by land fighting. Mr. White added:—

“If such a result was obtained by the operations of three little vessels, far from being of the first class, and poorly equipped, what would happen with the means which are to-day at the disposal of great nations?”

Probably the answer is that less would happen, because in that war steam cruisers were chasing sailing vessels. For the question how far privateering affected the issues of war in the past, *cp.* Sir John Macdonell's valuable pamphlet, published since my address, and entitled “Some Plain Reasons for Immunity.” (John Murray. 3d.)

But if the general arguments put forward for the policy of capture will not stand fire what shall we say of the *national* argument, the *official* argument? Of course, there is the service, or *Krieg-spiel*, argument (which will not appeal to any one except a Naval captain), that prize making and prize money are the proper incentives and rewards of Naval gallantry. Exactly the same was said about pillage and booty for soldiers on land. I have no doubt the German and French Naval officers feel exactly as ours do, and no blame to them. No profession will lightly abandon its pickings, and I for one, should be very glad to see the abolition of prize money accompanied by improved pay. But this prize money argument is not put forward by Mr. McKenna in the House of Commons. The one official argument is that the right of capturing and being captured is a right which on balance advantages Great Britain and would prove a valuable weapon against an enemy. Well, this argument has been examined at length, and I think completely disposed of by the Lord Chancellor, who, I may add, holds the opinion expressed in that famous letter of his with, if possible, increasing fervour. To say that the nation which possesses half the merchant shipping of the world, and is the great international carrier, will stand to lose by joining in an international Treaty to make merchant ships immune from capture or destruction in Naval warfare, to say that an island nation which imports more than half its food, will suffer if food is removed from the sphere of hostilities, surely these are paradoxes that require justification. If we count every great Power among our possible enemies, there is not one whose food supply can be in the least men-

aced by our Navy, and I can think of only two which would suffer much by their merchant marine being laid up in port during war. But the losses so caused by our cruisers would be negligible in comparison with the total cost of the war, and no doubt the liners could be sold quite easily to neutral nations. Indeed, under the present laws of Naval warfare, what we have to expect in case of war between England and Germany, is that some of our new lines of steamers will be transferred by sale to neutral countries, such as the United States and Holland; for we have to remember that since the Crimean War and the Declaration of Paris, the neutral flag covers not only merchant goods but enemy's goods. Sell your ships to the United States and if we are at war with any European Power those ships can come to Glasgow, Liverpool or any other port just as freely as when they carried the British flag in time of peace. If we are at war with Germany no British or German cruiser can touch a neutral vessel carrying a peaceful cargo of Australian wool, Canadian wheat, German sugar or Scotch tweeds, to or from any British or German port—though, of course, no ship is immune if it tries to run a blockade.

Then let us consider for a moment the question of insurance. Suppose one of our gallant cruisers sallies forth and has the luck to catch a big German Lloyd. If the German steamer has been allowed to go forth and risk capture, you may be certain that she is well insured probably in a neutral country, and the Company in which she has insured has probably reinsured in England. What would be thought of such an exploit? No doubt our captain and his officers would reap a golden harvest of prize money. But who would pay

the piper, and how about crippling Germany? The loss would probably fall mainly on friendly neutrals, or on British underwriters.

The whole of our Admiralty argument, strange to say, about the value of this "right" or "weapon" looks to the hypothesis of a war with Germany. They cannot make out any value for it in any other imaginable war. And when we come to see the facts with a little commercial imagination we find:—

- (1) That Germany will sell her ships; or
- (2) Leave them in port during the war; or
- (3) Send them out after insuring them in neutral countries.

In this paper I have not attempted to catalogue all the national and international advantages that would flow from the adoption of a general treaty guaranteeing security to all peaceful shipping and all non-contraband goods passing over the sea in time of war. The great practical argument is that by adopting this reform, which the most obstinate resistance can only hope to delay a few years longer, we shall relieve Continental nations and more especially Germany, from the burdensome business of building huge Navies to protect their merchant marine against our cruisers. And in relieving our rivals we shall doubly relieve ourselves, for it will no longer be necessary for us to build cruisers or convert liners at enormous cost to prey upon the merchantmen of another Power, or to protect and convoy our own. I look upon this reform as an indispensable preliminary to arresting this ruinous competition in Naval armaments.

In this address I have purposely not entered into the refinements and technicalities of jurisprudence. But let us remember J. S. Mill's advice to the University of St. Andrews, that the importance of international law extends far beyond lawyers and diplomatists. It is the duty, as he said, of every citizen to think about these subjects so that he may contribute to the formation and progress of public opinion. It is upon this process happily and not upon the perfection of explosives that the advance of civilisation depends. Generally speaking the interest of all nations is the interest of each. What is good for the world at large is good for Great Britain, and I know of no important reform to which an enlightened self-interest should impel us more strongly than this proposal for exempting peaceful traders at sea from the risks of capture.

Appendix

The following is a brief Chronology of the Proposal for exempting merchant vessels and non-contraband cargo from capture at sea:—

- 1609. Grotius' *Mare Liberum*.
- 1750. The Abbe de Mably's book on the Public Law of Europe.
- 1782. Galiani on neutrality.
- 1785. Benjamin Franklin's Treaty with Frederic the Great.
- 1796. Azuni's Maritime System (Italian and French).
- 1806. Brougham advocates it in *Edinburgh Review*.
- 1823. John Quincy Adams' proposal to England, France and Russia.
- 1856. Declaration of Paris.
- 1860. Memorial Manchester Chamber of Commerce.
- 1862. Cobden at Manchester (speech).
- 1866. War of Austria with Italy and Prussia.
- 1867. J. S. Mill accepts Cobden's policy.
- 1871. U. S. Treaty with Italy.
- 1888. Sir Henry Maine's International Law.
- 1859-1905. Five or more Resolutions of Hamburg and Bremen Chambers of Commerce.
- 1899. First Hague Conference. American proposal. Unanimous reference to Second Conference—French and English delegates would not vote.
- 1905. The Lord Chancellor's letter.
- 1907. Second Hague Conference. Proposal carried by a large majority of votes but made impossible through Great Britain voting in the minority against it.
- 1908. Convention of London to establish a Prize Court, and to define contraband.

TAXATION AND ARMAMENTS

A Letter to Members of Parliament, June 15, 1910

"The more you reduce the burdens of the people in times of peace the greater will be your strength when the hour of peril comes."—Disraeli.

Sir,—Of late years, in this and other countries, politicians and statesmen have been chiefly concerned with the selection of new, or the increase of old, taxes. Amid warlike excitements and newspaper panics economy was forgotten, and anyone who hinted at the old truism that war expenditure in time of peace weakens the nation and spoils the services was ridiculed as an idiot or reviled as a traitor. For years, like Don Quixote's niece and housekeeper, we poor economists have been "preaching in the desert and hammering cold iron." But since the passing of the Budget an attentive audience has begun to collect. The desert is frequented and the iron is hot. The propertied classes are suddenly beginning to suspect that there is some relation between expenditure and taxes, and that if the naval and military experts continue to have their way, the income-tax may rise, as it has already risen in Japan, to five shillings in the pound. This spring, for the first time in my recollection, the Naval Estimates have equalled or exceeded the wishes of the most ardent Parliamentary profligates. If I were a member of the House of Commons I would most certainly impugn

their wisdom. I would plead for their reduction on behalf of Social Reform and on behalf of the Sinking Fund. I would point out to rich men that their income-tax and the Naval Estimates have both doubled in the last thirteen or fourteen years, and are in a fair way to double again. Supported by some of the best naval critics, I would challenge the Dreadnought theory of monster ships, which has befooled and impoverished the civilised world. Above all, I would ask for an International Conference, and I would pray the Government to show reason why Great Britain should not win eternal honour by inviting friendly Powers to such a Conference, and making genuine proposals for the mitigation of this insensate competition in the machinery of destruction. Being a mere onlooker, I must content myself with submitting to your judgment a train of facts, figures, and arguments bearing upon our forty million Navy Estimates, with their super-Dreadnoughts and super-taxes.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

London, June 15th, 1910.

F. W. HIRST.

* * * *

At the annual meeting of the Peace Society in the Guildhall two trains of thought and sentiment found expression. Eulogies of the late King Edward, of President Taft, and even of the German Emperor as peacemakers came from the Bishop of Hereford, Mr. Carnegie, Lord Shaw of Dunfermline, and other speakers. The strain of hopeful optimism had good grounds to rest upon. Taking a long and broad view of the progress of civilisation, it may fairly be said that

developments of law, commerce, and good government, of religious toleration, of social amelioration, of art and science, of printing and letters, of manufactures, machinery, railways and steam navigation have exerted a pacifying influence on the warlike humours and destructive tendencies of mankind. The disappearance of private war, the suppression of the brigand and the pirate, the protection of life and property over vast areas of the Old and the New World, the improvement of international law in peace and war, the gradual removal of foul and unnecessary barbarities from the conduct of military operations by civilised Powers, and, finally, the rapid spread of arbitration culminating in the foundation of the Hague Court, are all unmistakable landmarks in a steady and now rapidly moving development. But improvement, it should be remembered, depends at least as much upon the spread of moral sentiment and common sense and the intelligent action of States and individuals as upon the material forces of commerce, industry, or invention. When we join in the praise of great rulers who have done their best to improve relations between Courts and Chancelleries, and to smooth away temporary acerbities and disputes, we should be neglecting a plain duty if we closed our eyes to a grave and increasing danger.

In a dispatch from Washington about a new Navy Year-Book compiled by Mr. Pitman Pulsifer, Great Britain is described as "the naval pacemaker of the world." She is stated to have 498 warships "completed and provided for" of 2,106,873 tons total displacement, of which 445 with a tonnage of 1,758,350 are completed and ready for action. Reckoning numbers of

built and building the United States and Germany are running on equal terms for second place. But they are both a very long way behind. The United States, when its ships completed and provided for are afloat, will have 179 war vessels of 839,945 tons displacement. Germany will have 233 war vessels with a displacement of 654,334 tons. Of battleships and armoured cruisers, Great Britain will have 108 of 1,581,680 tons, the United States 50, of which the displacement is not given, and Germany 46. The United States Navy claims to rank second to ours in total displacement, but only sixth in number of vessels. France, on the same reckoning, will have 503 ships of 766,903 tons, including 46 battleships and armoured cruisers, while Japan will have 191 ships of 493,704 tons, including 30 battleships and armoured cruisers. Russia will come next, if its programme is carried out, and then Italy. All these six Powers, be it observed, are suffering severely in increased taxation for participating in this race of expenditure on armaments. The mischief wrought by the Dreadnought and the Dreadnought craze is incredible. In the very last week the *Neue Freie Presse*, the leading Austrian newspaper, has issued an appeal, which we trust will be successful, to Signor Luzzatti, the Prime Minister of Italy, for a joint arrangement by which the projected competition in Dreadnoughts between Italy and Austria may be avoided. "Ruinously expensive" is the expression bestowed by Reuter's telegram upon this outbreak of naval competition between the two Southern allies of Germany.

Flattering as it is to the national vanity that King Edward should have been assigned by general recog-

nition first place among the peacemakers of the last few years, we should like to avoid, if we can, the double and most unenviable compliment of being the leading pacemaker in armaments as well as the leading peacemaker. Let us see how the matter stands, for it can easily be settled by an appeal to statistics. We will take the military and naval expenditure of the three Powers which are charged with forcing the pace in naval armaments during the last 20 years. We must be careful in so doing to avoid years in which armament expenditure "in preparation for peace" is mixed up with actual war expenditure. Lord Shaw of Dunfermline observed that with the possible minor exceptions of Japan and Russia, Great Britain, Germany, and the United States have been the leading delinquents. We add France, the Power which now stands third in military and fourth in naval expenditure. Our first year shall be 1890; our second 1897, before the Spanish-American and Boer Wars; our third 1906, after the Boer War; and our fourth 1908, or the last year available. To begin with Great Britain:—

GREAT BRITAIN.			
Year Commencing	Army.		Navy.
April 1.	£		£
1890	17,560,000	....	15,553,000
1897	19,330,000	....	20,850,000
1906	28,501,000	....	31,472,000
1908	26,859,000	....	32,181,000
1909*	27,435,000	....	35,142,000
1910*	27,760,000	....	40,603,000

*Budget estimate.

Since 1890, it will be seen, we have added ten millions to the annual cost of our Army and twenty-five millions

to the annual cost of our Navy, of which last increase more than eight millions has occurred during the last two years, and is directly responsible for the severity of the last Budget.

GERMANY.

Year Commencing April 1.	Army. £	Navy. £
1890.....	35,975,000	3,586,000
1897.....	30,741,000	5,701,000
1906.....	37,660,000	12,957,000
1908*.....	42,798,000	17,448,000

* Budget estimate.

These figures are from the *Statistical Abstract*. According to our correspondent, the total amounts voted for the Army for 1910-11 are £40,357,000, and for the Navy £21,693,000. Taking these figures for comparison with Great Britain, we get an increase of about $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions in the cost of the German Army since 1890 (which is less than half the addition to the cost of our own Army), and an addition of over 18 millions to the cost of the Navy in the same period (which is 7 millions less than the additions to the British Navy). Of course, on the percentage system, the growth of the German naval estimates is portentous, and can only be compared with that of the United States. Moreover, the new financial burden involved has so far borne much more heavily upon the German than upon the British taxpayer. In fact, the new taxes of Germany are again proving inadequate; although the whole cost of the new construction is paid out of borrowed money, another deficit of $12\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling is anticipated on the present year.

UNITED STATES.

Year Ended June 30.	Army. £	Navy. £	Pensions. £
1890	8,916,000 ...	4,120,000	21,387,000
1897	9,790,000 ...	6,912,000	28,210,000
1906	23,589,000 ...	22,094,000	28,207,000
1908	35,168,000 ...	23,607,000	30,778,000

In the case of the United States our figures again are taken from the Statistical Abstract, but in the last two years naval expenditure has gone ahead rapidly, being £26,438,000 in 1908-9, while the estimates for 1909-10, as voted, were £28,778,000. It would, therefore, appear that ex-President Roosevelt and President Taft have led the United States into a foremost place among the great Powers as pacemaker in military and naval expenditure. For in the period under review the cost of its Army seems to have risen by about 24 millions, and that of the Navy by 24½ millions.

FRANCE.

Year.	Army. £	Navy. £
1890	23,209,000	8,055,000
1897	27,344,000	10,431,000
1906	28,755,635	13,003,277
1907	31,199,445	12,486,792
1908	31,194,000	12,797,308
1909	31,994,875	13,353,825
1910	34,886,020	15,023,019

The later French figures have been taken by our Paris correspondent from official publications. Since 1890, therefore, France would appear to have added more than 11½ millions to the cost of her Army, and nearly seven millions to the cost of her Navy. Considering that her population has been stationary, it is not sur-

prising that these additions have proved very burdensome to the French taxpayer.

If Europe had accepted the original proposal of the Czar at the first Hague Conference to discuss and seek a remedy for the increasing burden of armaments, and if that proposal had been successful in bringing about, at any rate, an arrest of military and naval expenditure, all the European Powers would now be enjoying overflowing treasuries, with ample funds both for the reduction of taxation and for the improvement of social and economic conditions. Has not the time come for British statesmen to revive this proposal, and to endeavour to bring about an international agreement? Every Prime Minister, every Foreign Secretary, who folds his hands and does nothing while the machinery of warfare and the cost of armaments grow at this unheard-of rate runs the risk of being held responsible for a ghastly and unavoidable calamity.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR INTERNATIONAL CONCILIATION

1. Program of the Association, Baron d'Estournelles de Constant. April, 1907.
2. Results of the National Arbitration and Peace Congress, by Andrew Carnegie. April, 1907.
3. A League of Peace, by Andrew Carnegie. November, 1907.
4. The results of the Second Hague Conference, by Baron d'Estournelles de Constant and Hon. David Jayne Hill. December, 1907.
5. The Work of the Second Hague Conference, by James Brown Scott. January, 1908.
6. Possibilities of Intellectual Co-operation Between North and South America, by L. S. Rowe. April, 1908.
7. America and Japan, by George Trumbull Ladd. June, 1908.
8. The Sanction of International Law, by Elihu Root. July, 1908.
9. The United States and France, by Barrett Wendell. August, 1908.
10. The Approach of the Two Americas, by Joaquim Nabuco. September, 1908.
11. The United States and Canada, by J. S. Willison. October, 1908.
12. The Policy of the United States and Japan in the Far East. November, 1908.
13. European Sobriety in the Presence of the Balkan Crisis, by Charles Austin Beard. December, 1908.
14. The Logic of International Co-operation, by F. W. Hirst. January, 1909.
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18. The Causes of War, by Elihu Root. May, 1909.
19. The United States and China, by Wei-ching Yen. June, 1909.
20. Opening Address at the Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, by Nicholas Murray Butler. July, 1909.
21. Journalism and International Affairs, by Edward Cary. August, 1909.
22. Influence of Commerce in the Promotion of International Peace, by John Ball Osborne. September, 1909.
23. The United States and Spain, by Martin Hume. October, 1909.
24. The American Public School as a Factor in International Conciliation, by Myra Kelly. November, 1909.
25. Cecil Rhodes and His Scholars as Factors in International Conciliation, by F. J. Wylie. December, 1909.
26. The East and the West, by Seth Low. January, 1910.
27. The Moral Equivalent of War, by William James. February, 1910.
28. International Unity, by Philander C. Knox. March, 1910.
29. The United States and Australia, by Percival R. Cole. March, 1910.
30. The United States and Germany, by Karl Von Lewinski. April, 1910.
31. The United States and Mexico, by James Douglas. May, 1910.
32. The International Duty of the United States and Great Britain, by Edwin D. Mead. June, 1910.
33. Opening Address at the Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, by Nicholas Murray Butler. June, 1910.
34. An Economic View of War and Arbitration, by John B. Clark, I.L.D. July, 1910.
35. Peace *Versus* War: The President's Solution, by Andrew Carnegie. August, 1910.
36. Conciliation through Commerce and Industry in South America, by Charles M. Pepper. September, 1910.
37. International Conciliation in the Far East: A Collection of Papers Upon Various Topics, by Rt. Rev. L. H. Roots, Rev. Dr. J. H. De Forest, Prof. E. D. Burton, Rev. Dr. Gilbert Reid and Hon. John W. Foster. October, 1910.
38. The Capture and Destruction of Commerce at Sea, and Taxation and Armaments, by F. W. Hirst. November, 1910.

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NAVAL ARMAMENTS

A selection from speeches delivered in Congress on the Naval
Appropriation Bills of 1906, 1908, 1909 and 1910



BY

THEODORE E. BURTON

United States Senator from Ohio

DECEMBER, 1910, No. 37

American Association for International Conciliation

Sub-station 84 (501 West 116th Street)

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The Executive Committee of the Association for International Conciliation wish to arouse the interest of the American people in the progress of the movement for promoting international peace and relations of comity and good fellowship between nations. To this end they print and circulate documents giving information as to the progress of these movements, in order that individual citizens, the newspaper press, and organizations of various kinds may have readily available accurate information on these subjects.

For the information of those who are not familiar with the work of the Association for International Conciliation, a list of its publications will be found on page 15.

SELECTIONS FROM SPEECHES DELIVERED IN CONGRESS

BY

HON. THEODORE E. BURTON, OF OHIO,
ON THE NAVAL APPROPRIATION BILLS OF 1906, 1908,
1909 AND 1910

It is with a hope to promote the cause of Peace and to diminish the careless disregard of the calamities of War that I desire to address the House today.

In discussing this question it is well at the outset to call attention to the growth of our national expenditures. The amount carried in the Bill for Appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1910—\$135,000,000—is twice as great as the net expenditures of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1861, and yet at that time our country contained 35,000,000 of people. In the year 1910 approximately two-thirds of all our expenses were for war. There is grave danger, moreover, that if additional battleships of the model proposed are constructed, larger than any of those in the existing navy, an almost overwhelming pressure will be brought to bear to replace the present ships with those of this larger model. Each nation wishes to be in the forefront in building ships, to have the best navy. If one starts in, all the rest will follow. A statement which I have before me says that the total cost to four nations—the United States, Great Britain, Russia, and Germany—for military and naval expenses in 1907 was \$1,184,000,000. If you were to

count in France, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Spain, and other nations, and make allowance for the increase year by year, it is probable that in 1910 the expense would be \$2,000,000,000 for the most enlightened nations of the world, because of their military establishments. It is simply impossible that such a pace should continue.

What is going to bring this mad race of military expenditure to an end? One of the first factors will be the economic waste involved in this enormous cost. This problem is sure to be settled in the long run as an economic one. The nations of the earth cannot go on in this mad rush for naval expansion. The burden, if not intolerable, will be intolerable in a very few years. If we study the growth of great movements in politics, if we consider the factors that have made for greater human liberty, it is surprising how many of these movements have had their main-spring and their substantial support in the desire of peoples to be relieved from unjust or oppressive burdens of taxation. With these \$2,000,000,000 raised from the civilized nations this condition will not last long before there will be—I will not say an uprising—but such opposition that it must be brought to a stop. We may safely say that, just as it is always darkest before day, so light is already beginning to peer through the darkness. Under more enlightened policies, such as will surely prevail, the limitation of armaments will come by necessity in the very near future. But there are much higher motives in this country of ours which should lead us to oppose these great appropriations.

The manifest tendency in long periods towards a decrease of war is illustrated by the facts of history. In the first place, the attacks of barbarians upon civilized peoples, which caused such devastation in the olden time, have ceased. Then, too, religious wars, at least between different branches of the Christian church, have ceased. Practically they came to an end with the peace of Westphalia, in the year 1648, after the Thirty Years' War. Wars for the aggrandizement of rulers have ceased. The latest wars of this nature may be said to have been those in which Napoleon was engaged. Another class of conflicts, those wars which are caused by uprisings of a people against the existing order and for freer government or greater privilege, are becoming less and less frequent. If we look for any date when this tendency took definite form and gained its greatest impetus, we may point to the year 1815, after the Battle of Waterloo and the Napoleonic wars. Prior to that date the predominant condition in Europe was one of constant struggle between contending nations. Since then the predominant condition has been one of peace.

Just as there has been very great progress in doing away with war, so there has been equal progress in the peaceful settlement of disputes, especially in the last ninety years. From 1815 to 1900 more than 200 controversies between nations were settled by arbitration. Since 1900 there have been over 40 more, and each successive bulletin adds to the list. In these the United States was a party in a very considerable share. These arbitrations have settled the most irritating questions; not only questions of boundary, of

indignities to citizens, of property and personal rights, but all the great range of questions which in the olden times were incitements to war.

But for the inertia which pertains to great political reforms, war would have already disappeared. It is a striking fact that political movements do not show the same orderly development or the same rational and uniform progress as the triumphs of science and of industry. But governments, in their relations with their citizens and in their relations with other countries, must follow the march of public opinion. They cannot linger long behind. Indeed the ideas and pursuits of men have radically changed since that year, and we may rank its advent as constituting an era in the world's progress worthy to be compared with the fifteenth century, with its twin events, the invention of printing and the discovery of America; for as they made a landmark in the progress of the race, so did the disposition toward peace after the fall of Napoleon mark another advance in the same direction. There has been a great difference in the haste with which nations go to war since then. No country can take up the sword without grave occasion or it will have the condemnation of all the rest. If any nation now unjustly attacks another, it must be in the face of an opposition more potent than serried ranks of soldiers or great squadrons of war-ships. No nation is allowed to annex the whole body of another country. The annexations which have occurred since 1815 have been very largely in instances where a claim of more or less validity existed prior to the outbreak of war. In the same connection

it may be noted that when nations have gained great advantages in war, international congresses have been held to prevent them from obtaining any great territorial accessions. And so it will be in the future. Nations are not now allowed to acquire additional territory without the consent of the rest, except in the case of barbarous tribes occupying territory such as that of Africa or some of the outlying portions of the earth; and their so-called "spheres of influence" are defined. There is a concert of action among nations, a balance of power to be preserved, so that no acquisition shall be made by one without general approval. And if this doctrine has been maintained when we had a weak navy, when we had no navy, and at times when political rivalries and contests were rife in the world, how much more will it be maintained in these early days of the twentieth century, when every tendency is toward a community of interest among nations, when disturbance of the world's peace awakens universal disapprobation, and when the strong are not allowed to impose upon the weak? There is a solidarity of interest among the nations of the earth—such that war will not be tolerated. It is practically impossible between civilized nations unless some irresistible ground for conflict exists. The public opinion of the civilized world is stronger than the armies and navies of the proudest empire.

The whole trend of civilization is in this direction. A potent factor in the abatement of war is the increasing attention of civilized nations to the pursuits of industry and commerce. Those who are engaged in these pursuits seek to prevent war, just as sanitary

science guards against pestilence. Then again, with the growth of the human intellect, with the absorption of men in intellectual pursuits, and with the increased influence of moral forces, war seems more and more appalling. In this period the nations and peoples were not constantly interrupted by war, but could give their attention to other subjects, such as the improvement of conditions, the development of conditions, which make for the betterment of the race.

We should ever keep in mind the analogy between the settlement of disputes between individuals and the settlement of controversies between nations. Ultimately the settlement of contests between nations will be by judicial tribunals of the same general nature as those courts which now decide controversies between individuals. The establishment of local courts was a matter of very slow growth. The barons in the time of the feudal system saw to it that every hill was crowned with a fortress and every passageway over a river was defended, partly for military purposes and partly so that they might levy tribute. Those feudal lords would not admit that the maintenance of armed dependence and of fortresses was for the sake of aggression. The familiar argument of the modern day was used—that these were necessary to preserve peace and for defense. Nevertheless, the feudal barons were frequently engaged in contests. They did not yield to the authority of the magistrate who sought to preserve order or give respect to priests who sought to preserve peace. Yet the system was compelled to yield to a civilization in which there is a rule of law and in which brute force must give way.

It has been said in this discussion that by this naval programme we were showing to the nations of the earth that we are going to protect our interests. Who is threatening our interests in the wide world? Where is there a sentiment in any nation that has one war-like note against the United States? The fundamental fallacy in all these arguments is that in this day neither an individual nor a nation is safe unless he goes armed. Just exactly the contrary is true. The more we abstain from military armaments, the more we abstain from everything that looks toward aggression or the preparation for aggression, the more our interests will be respected in the rest of the world, the more we will be trusted and the greater will be our progress and the friendship for us among all the nations of the earth.

I have listened oftentimes to the talk of our becoming peacemakers by building a navy. How absurd that is! Great Britain starts in as a peacemaker and has a navy sufficient to quell disorder anywhere in the world, to make disorderly people behave themselves. But Germany thinks that it is not enough; she must also be a peacemaker more than Great Britain. France comes into the list, and she must be a peacemaker; and this competition in peacemaking is a spectacle in the eyes of the world. We cannot explain this ambitious programme by the claim that we desire to become the peacemaker of the world. If we make such a claim, the judicious will say it will prove ineffective, the skeptical will term it a dream, and the unfriendly will call it a specious pretense. What does the task of a peacemaker involve? It

requires that when two countries are in or near to a conflict, we will say to them: "You must settle your differences." If they do not agree upon a settlement such as we approve, then we must take the side of one or the other. That means war. It not only means war between us and one or the other, but it means that other nations will be involved in the conflict. So that when we begin to talk of a larger navy to compel nations to do our bidding to make peace, then we are getting away not only from the ancient moorings, from our policy of peace and non-intervention, but from our greatly prized Monroe doctrine. These armed peacemakers will not command confidence. The increase of navies is to increase the might and the prestige of the countries which build them, and for each enlargement in our naval programme the whole world will look with an added degree of suspicion upon us, thinking that our designs are not for peace, but for empire and for the enlargement of our dominion. The progress that will make toward peace will be accomplished by proclaiming to the world the reign of justice, rather than that of force, by proclaiming as well that we are willing to stop short of this ambitious programme. Let it be done in reliance that other peoples will accept our view, believing that an era of arbitration and of peace is better than one of increasing armaments, which is becoming more and more year by year a crushing weight upon the citizens of every land.

What great contention in diplomacy which has made for the greatness of the American name was accomplished by a great navy? The Monroe doctrine was

initiated and established and became a part of the settled policy of nations without the drawing of a sword or firing of a shot. It was initiated at a time when we were a weak, remote people, away from the great, powerful nations of the earth. Our country has enjoyed an unprecedented growth and has attained a position in the very forefront among nations, not by the strength of armies or navies, but by our unique position and by the confidence in our impartiality and justice.

When you abandon these helpful policies and say that not by moral forces, but by means of a navy, with which we shall become involved in conflicts with them all—then shall we lose our opportunity and fail to accomplish such triumphs of amelioration as were achieved under Secretary Hay, under Secretary Root, and under a long line of their illustrious predecessors. No. Let us continue our traditional policy, not indeed one of weakness, nor yet of non-resistance, but one of confidence in our strength as a nation. Our military strength, though mighty in its possibilities, is but a part; our material strength is much more; but most of all can we rely upon those great moral and political principles which have made our country what it is, the eternal principles of justice to all, the equality of man. Those great ideas are stronger than battleships. Along those lines lie our destiny and our glory. We can already claim the position of the proudest and most progressive nation on the globe. How much more, in the coming years, by promoting peace and justice, can we conserve all the influences of the past and gain, in ever-increasing measure, the confidence,

the good will, and the co-operation of all the nations of the earth!

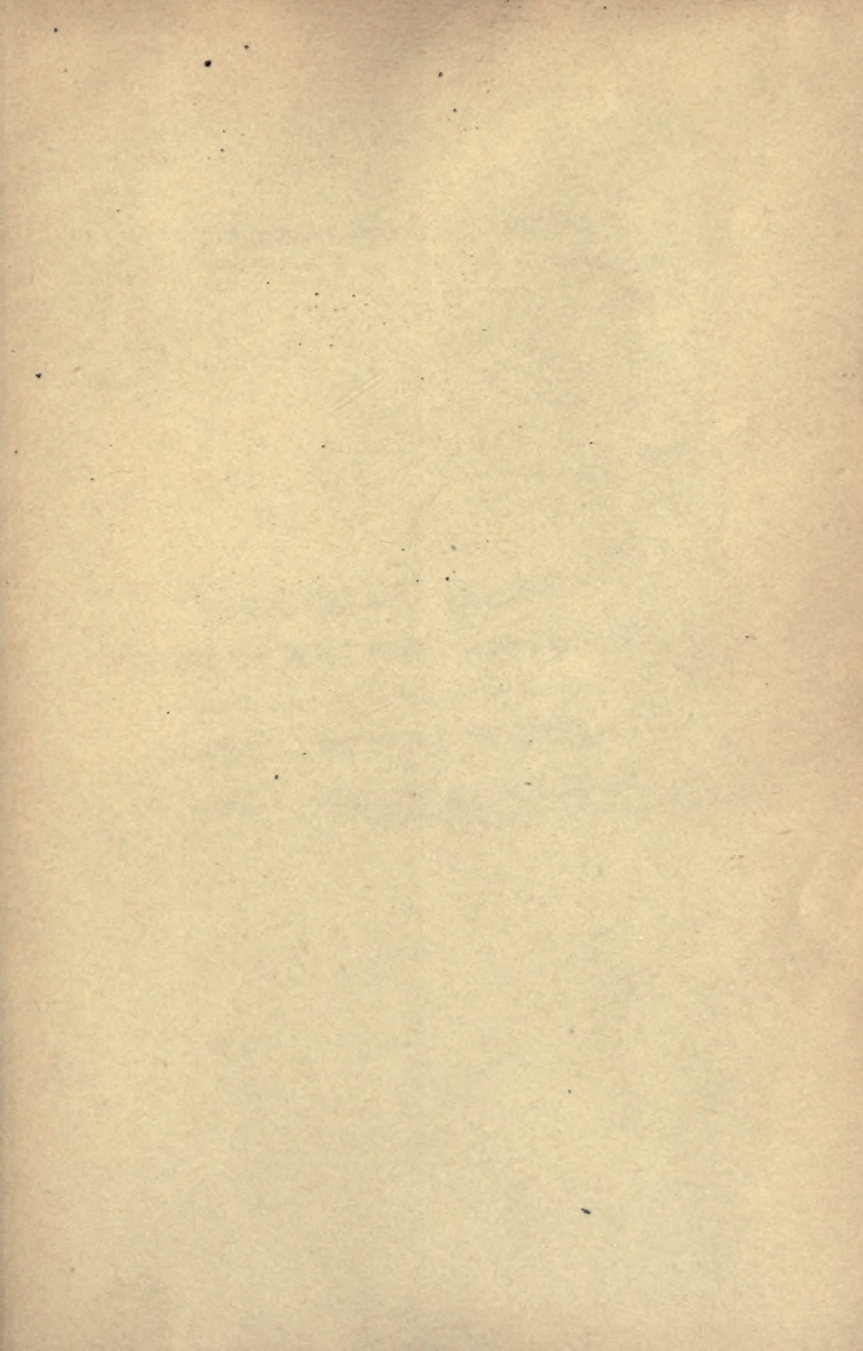
A nation, like an individual, has a mission to perform. Let ours be to hasten the day of arbitration and of peace. If this mad race in building battle-ships is to continue, mutual distrust one of another and each of all will continue. No other nation can so appropriately take the lead in ushering in the era of peace, which is sure to come. The nations of the world have greater confidence in us. We occupy a position of advantage by reason of the fact that we are protected by the ocean on two sides and are not compelled to guard our borders with frowning fortresses. Our participation in so many arbitrations gives us an advantage as well. And more than all, our free institutions give us a standing no kingdom can enjoy. If, I say, with such advantages, we abate from our naval programme, then we are taking the lead in establishing world peace. It will be a proclamation that will go far and wide over the globe that we are now at peace with all the world, and that we expect to continue at peace with all the world in the future, and, in addition, that we intend to bring to bear all our might, all our power, all our influence to keep the other nations of the earth at peace as well. No nobler mission could fall to the United States. It is the golden opportunity which I trust we may grasp, that mankind in this later day may look to our country to take the lead in the paths that will lead to the world's peace.

Lord Brougham in treating of the law as between individuals said:

“It was the boast of Augustus that he found Rome of brick and left it of marble. But”—he added—

“how much nobler will be the sovereign’s boast when he shall have it to say that he found law dear and left it cheap; found it a sealed book and left it a living letter; found it the patrimony of the rich, left it the inheritance of the poor; found it the two-edged sword of craft and oppression, and left it the staff of honesty and the shield of innocence.”

And now that the world is coming nearer and nearer to one common brotherhood, may I not say how much nobler yet will be that nation’s distinction that found liberty the birthright of the strong alone and gave it to the weak; that found international justice a neglected principle and made it a controlling force; a nation which sought no conquest, but freely offered refuge; one which, not unmindful of national strength or honor, gained its chiefest glory in the happiness and increased opportunity of the individual citizen; a nation which found its competitors limiting their horizon to the mountains and rivers which bound them and taught them to look forth beyond all barriers and learn that all men are made of one blood and have one common destiny.



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